



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 30 November, and until further notice, the DAILY REPORT will cease publishing the "Front Page" feature.

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Agreement Reached on Gabčíkovo Dam Project

LD2811105592 Prague Stanice Československo Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Representatives of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the European Community reached agreement in Brussels yesterday on a solution to the dispute over the Gabčíkovo dam project. They agreed that in the spirit of the previous London agreement, and mainly in view of the report of the group of experts, they would prepare—within two weeks—proposals for the water regime in Gabčíkovo, taking into consideration the current stage of the project's construction. This is considerable progress, and should calm the passions surrounding the Gabčíkovo project, and in the near future allow for a rational solution to the key issues of the project, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek said after the talks.

Croatian, Macedonian Ministers on Istanbul Talks

LD2911151292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Report by correspondent Gabor Nemes on Istanbul Conference on Yugoslavia held on 25 November]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Although the conference was originally designed to find a way out of the tragic Bosnian situation, Croatian Foreign Minister Skrabalo tried to weaken the enemy, that is the Serbs, most of all. In reply to a question about what he would consider a real success, he said the following:

[Begin recording] [Skrabalo] If agreement can be reached that pressure should be increased on the so-called Yugoslavia, which is Serbia and Montenegro, but mainly Serbia.

[Nemes] Increased to what, to military pressure?

[Skrabalo] Yes, also. We shall have to wait and see what Clinton's new team will do. There are various signs. But it is important no doubt, what we shall discuss here. Not only for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina but also for Vojvodina because Milosevic's team are progressing along a crazy line. So, next will be Kosovo, [word indistinct], Macedonia, and Vojvodina. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Macedonian Foreign Minister Denko Malevski was one of the few who returned from the conference satisfied. I asked Malevski, against whom did they ask for UN troops? Against the Serb troops or perhaps against the Albanians?

[Begin recording] [Malevski in English with superimposed Hungarian translation] No, we asked for the peacekeeping forces to prevent the events in the former Yugoslavia from sweeping across to our country. We are worried that crisis zones which have formed along the borders which can explode.

[Nemes] But what kind of dangers do you mean? Clashes, fights? Which side would cross your border?

[Malevski] Well, you see in an ethnic war nobody knows who shoots at who. This is what the struggle in the former Yugoslavia illustrates. But you know that the Kosovo crisis is unsolved and this means a potential danger along the borders. Imagine a situation when several thousands of refugees are flooding across the border. The international forces have to be here to help us in this situation.

[Nemes] Would such a UN force secure only the border or would it also prevent, for example, a civil war?

[Malevski] It all depends what kind of resolution is achieved at the United Nations. They have just sent 12 observer experts and, following their report, it will be decided what kind of force and under what mandate should be sent to Macedonia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Visegrad Three To Set Up Army Monitoring Groups

LD2011200292 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT 20 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, November 20 (MTI)—The Visegrad Three, composed of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland should cooperate in developing the technological standards of their armies, the three countries, chiefs of staff agreed in Prague on Friday [27 November].

Concluding their two-day consultation with a joint statement, they said the three states had vested interests in meeting NATO's requirements with regard to the quality of military research, development and production.

The chiefs of staff, Karel Pezl of Czechoslovakia, Janos Deak of Hungary, and Tadeusz Wilecki of Poland, met at a military recreation centre in Merin, near Prague.

After the meeting, they told the press that in keeping with the International Treaty on the Disarmament of Conventional Forces in Europe, the three countries planned to set up joint monitoring groups. They also plan to cooperate in the framework of the "Open Skies" treaty.

President Berisha Warns of New Balkan Conflict*AU2711132792 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 27 Nov 92***[Report by Nicolas Miletitch]**

[Text] Tirana, Nov 26 (AFP)—Albanian President Sali Berisha warned on Friday [27 November] that a new war in the Balkans is "very probable" and urged the west to bomb Serbian military targets to reduce its war potential. President Berisha said that Serbian leaders are bent on using war to achieve their "medieval" dream of a "greater Serbia," in an interview Friday with AFP.

The international community should "start bombing airports and military factories" there, though avoid civilian targets, to "diminish Serbian military potential" and head off any spread of bloodshed in the Balkans, he said.

Berisha, 48, is Albania's first noncommunist president who came to power last April. He was confident that this sort of military action would make Serbia change its mind. Up to now, international diplomatic efforts had achieved only "extremely modest" results in trying to end the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he said.

Berisha conceded he was pessimistic about the immediate future in Belgrade and certain that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will remain in power after the Yugoslav elections scheduled for December 20. "The international community is counting too much on the Cosic-Panic team to obtain changes in Serbia, while the real power is in the hands of Milosevic," he said.

He hailed Yugoslav Federal President Dobrica Cosic and his Prime Minister Milan Panic's attempts to promote a policy of compromise, but had little faith in its results. "Without a democratic Serbia, there cannot be stability in the Balkans," Berisha said, stressing that attempts by the west to weaken Serbia's military potential would enable "the democratic opposition in Serbia to make itself heard."

Berisha saw the next Balkan trouble spots as the southern Serbian province of Kosovo and Macedonia, which both have big ethnic Albanian communities. "A conflict that would break out in Kosovo would immediately lead to another conflict in Macedonia, and vice versa," said Berisha, and would threaten nearby Albania.

Kosovo has a 90 percent ethnic Albanian population which has rejected Serbian authority and been pushing for independence. Macedonia, a former Yugoslav Republic, has a 20 to 40 percent ethnic Albanian population—depending on whether the official or Albanian community is considered—which has been demanding greater autonomy in regions where they are a majority.

As for Albania, Berisha stressed his country would "always remain a secular state," despite the growing influence of Islam.

Islamic associations in Albania have become increasingly active with aid from other Islamic countries. "There is no tendency to see religion play a political role in Albania," he said, dismissing as "totally unfounded" suggestions that Albania, until recently Europe's last bastion of orthodox Stalinism, could turn into an Islamic republic.

Some 70 percent of its 2.3 million people are Moslems, 20 percent orthodox and 10 percent Catholic, according to official estimates. Albania is to become a full member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) next week during the OIC summit in Saudi Arabia, said Berisha, who himself is of Moslem background.

But he also said John Paul II will visit Albania next spring on the first trip by a pope to this country, in what is seen as a bid to counter Islamic influence.

Requests Measures To Preserve Peace*AU2611150992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 92*

[Text] The President's Press and Information Office informs that, considering the danger of the spread of conflict in the former Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council has decided to send peace keeping forces to the Republic of Macedonia.

Concerning this, President Sali Berisha stressed that he welcomes this measure that is necessary to guarantee peace in the region. He reiterated Albania's stance for an independent Macedonia and expressed support for the participation of the Albanian parties' representatives in the Skopje government. In this framework President Berisha again expressed Albania's demand that Kosovo be placed under UN surveillance to avoid the great danger from the Serbian forces. I am confident that the Security Council will realistically assess the situation in Kosovo and take effective measures, declared Berisha.

Berisha, Italian Delegation View Regional Issues*AU2711214892 Tirana ATA in English 0929 GMT 27 Nov 92*

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—Mr. Sali Berisha, president of the Republic, received the delegation of the Commission of the Foreign Policy of the Italian parliament headed by the chairman of this commission, Mr. Antonio Karilia. The president valued the visit of the Italian parliamentarians as a contribution to make known Albania in Italy. He thanked them for the solidarity of the Italian Government and people with Albania at this difficult period and with the efforts of Albania and the Albanians in the Balkans to the detente and prevention of war in this region. He valued the recent agreement on the economic cooperation between the two countries signed in Rome by the foreign ministers. Dealing with the situation in the region, the president valued the recent decision of the Security Council to send blue helmets in Macedonia and expressed the idea that as a neighbouring country of the Balkans,

directly concerned with the developments on this peninsula, Italy should be more active and launch initiatives at the international forums in order to establish and maintain peace in the region.

The Italian parliamentarians briefed President Berisha on the recent contacts they have had with all concerned parties in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. The chairman of the Foreign Commission of the Italian parliament said that the Albanians in Albania and Kosovo are for peace. We know, said Mr. Carilia, that the rights of the Albanians in former Yugoslavia are denied and we are in solidarity with their requests. He said that Italy, which is concerned with this region, will do its utmost within the European framework.

Deputies Mr. Alberto Alesi and Mr. Masimo Salvadori also expressed their embarrassment over the danger and complex situation in the Balkans. They also laid the stress on the peaceful methods to settle the crisis. The Italian parliamentarians were escorted by Mr. Torquato Cardilli, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Italian Republic in Albania.

Discuss Danger of War in Kosovo

AU2411143092 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 24 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 24 (ATA)—The Press and Information Office close to the president of the republic reports that President Sali Berisha met the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Britain to the Republic of Albania, Sir Patrick Fairweather, escorted by the British charge d'affaires in Tirana, Sir John Duncan.

The talks focused on the danger of the widespread of conflict in Kosovo and broader in the Balkans. President Berisha briefed Ambassador Fairweather that Albania abides by the principle of solving the national issue of peoples according to the international norms and acts. The main sources of war in ex-Yugoslavia, said the president, are the policy and ideology of Milosevic for settling the Serb national issue by means of might and the opportunity to make use of military arsenal of the whole ex-Federation for the realization of this policy. He expressed the desire that the CSCE observers' mission assume its duty as soon as possible in Albania.

The ambassador pointed to the significance of the new action taken by the international community against Serbia and Montenegro, the settling of CSCE observers' mission in Pristina, and expressed the firm determination of the European Community not to allow an ethnic purge in Kosovo. He thanked for the memorial erected in Tirana in memory of the British soldiers who fell in Albania during the antifascist war.

Meksi Warns of War

AU2611190792 Tirana ATA in English 1121 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—The Albanian Premier Aleksander Meksi joined on November 25 the Italian parliamentary delegation headed by Mr. Garilia. He told Mr. Meksi that after the meetings with the leaders of some of the republics of former Yugoslavia, he came to Tirana to get a broader information in order to create a clearer idea of the situation in the region, which is very tense. The Italian Government and parliament express their embarrassment over this situation. Currently, he said, the state of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina concerns the whole region. The worst is that this conflict may spread to the south. The loss of the autonomy of Kosovo led the Albanian people to a miserable state, caused by the Serb pressure.

Premier Meksi thanked Mr. Garilia for the aid the Italian people and government offered to the Albanian people at these crucial moments. He said that the ongoing relations between our two countries create conditions to further develop them in the future. Briefing on the attitude of the Albanian Government to the tense situation in the Balkans, Premier Meksi said that this tension will reduce by finding a peaceful solution to the interethnic conflicts. In case the European Community does not adopt restrictive measures against Serbia, the danger of war is great.

Meksi, Kosovo's Bukoshi Discuss Cooperation

AU2511153592 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 25 (ATA)—On November 24 before noon, Aleksander Meksi, premier of the Republic of Albania, met at a separate meeting the Premier of the Republic of Kosovo Bukoshi being on a working visit to Tirana and had a fraternal talk with him. They focused on the extension of cooperation in all the areas between Albania and Kosovo, the situation in Kosovo and in the Balkans. Mr. Meksi briefed Mr. Bukoshi on the grave situation in some zones of the country because of the recent floods and efforts of the government to eliminate the aftermath. On behalf of the Republic of Kosovo, Mr. Bukoshi offered 50,000 German marks to the inhabitants affected by this calamity.

Meksi Speaks at Vlore Meeting on Independence Day

AU2811155792 Tirana ATA in English 0934 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 28 (ATA)—A jubilee evening party was organized yesterday at the Palace of Sports in Vlore to commemorate the marked day of the 80th anniversary of national independence. Attending this ceremony were inhabitants of the city, compatriots from the diaspora, from Kosovo, deputies, representatives of

the political parties, religious beliefs, various organisations, heads of the diplomatic corps accredited in Tirana. Present were also the President of the Republic Sali Berisha, the Chairman of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers Aleksander Meksi, and other government members. Premier Meksi, who held the speech on the occasion, wished a happy festivity to all the Albanian people, the martyr people of Kosovo, the Albanians in Macedonia, Montenegro, and other territories of former Yugoslavia, the Albanians of Cameria and those of the diaspora. I wish my speech pays homage to the great old man of Vlore, Ismail Qemali, Luigi Gurakuqi, Isa Boletini, and to all those honourable Albanian men who with bravery and honour, with the feeling of being Albanians, and diplomacy proclaimed on November 12, 1992 the independent and democratic Albanian State. The 28th of November 1912, whose 80th anniversary we are celebrating, is a marked day in the history of the Albanian nation. The hoisting of the flag in Vlore gave Albania its name and right to existence. This day marked the crowning of the century-long struggles and efforts of the Albanians to have their own state free from the foreign invaders, led by the Albanians.

Further on Mr. Meksi said: At the same time this is a partial victory, because the newly created Albanian State included only half of the territories because of the aggressive aims of the neighbours and unjust policy pursued by the big powers, and the triumph of independence was a result of the decisive battles of our nation in the second half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. It was precisely the movement of our national renaissance which designed and realized the Albanian State, in whose foundation would be national consciousness, language, culture, history, that is, well known significant elements and principles of the integrations of the European modern states and nations. The creation of the Albanian State, this great ideal of our renaissance patriots, which was realized on November 28, 1912, required and would require great human sacrifices, which the Albanian people made in the name of the flag, in the name of the progress and consolidation of its own nation, as one of the most ancient nations of Europe. It showed that our people has the power and chances to make Albania belong to the Albanians wherever they are. The history of the Albanian State following the proclamation of independence is full of shocking and dramatic events. It is the history of a destabilized state, which initially experienced the principality, democratic republic, monarchy, fascist power, and the savage communist dictatorship. The Albanian State could never consolidate its own political, economic, military, and national positions.

The titanic efforts of the renaissance patriots and great democrats of the nation, the dreams of those who courageously hoisted the national flag in Vlore were exploited by the communist dictatorship. Communism deprived the Albanian people of their religion, freedom, asset. The nearly half-century communist darkness separated the Albanian State from the progressive nations of

Europe and the country blessed by God for its beautiful rich nature was gripped by the economic crisis, unemployment, poverty, ignorance in running the country. But, all these belong to the past. The powerful democratic movement finally liberated the country from the communist dictatorship and at last, after about 50 years, the national flag, too, got rid of the bad omen symbols of communism. The Albanian new democratic state has undertaken the difficult and noble mission to build up the market economy. This is the goal of the short and long-term programmes of the government. This is also the historic mission of the Albanian parliament. One thing we should only understand, you can demolish a wall like that of Berlin within one night, you can demolish a communist dictatorship as that of Albania or Ceausescu in Romania within a few hours. But to build the market economy in a backward country like Albania needs time, culture, efforts, and many sacrifices. But, we set ourselves to this work and believe we are on the right road. We rely our economic reform on the pattern recommended by the International Monetary Fund, because today this is the only pattern applied in all the East European countries, in many countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Mr. Meksi dwelt on some of the main indices of the economic reform the democratic government is currently implementing. In conclusion he said: Albania is turned into a democratic country building up the rule of law and intends to be on a line with the countries of Western democracy. Guided by the world well-known principles of democracy, we are carrying out profound reforms in all the fields of life. An economically strong Albania, a real democratic Albania is a guarantee to the correct and speedy solution of the national cause, the national union.

Berisha Speaks

AU2911143992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Speech by President Sali Berisha held at independence day rally in Vlore—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, brothers and sisters, honorable friends, my compatriots wherever you are; I wish you a happy celebration on this great day in our history, the day of the flag, the day of independence, 28 November—the day of the great victory. Independence Day is undoubtedly the greatest day in the history of a nation.

A total of 80 years have passed in a historic circle, and time has always negated the glittering of that fiery flame that the nation's greatest man lighted in the Vlore of freedom to brighten all the Albanian nation forever.

Eighty years ago, deputies from all the country's areas, from north and south, east and west, from Diber and Pristina, Korce and Monastery, Gjirokaster and Cameri, Kavaje and Durres ran like a marathoner to the Vlore of Ismail Qemali, carrying in their souls and minds the great message of the ideal of independence. The historic

hour has come for Albania, so that the Albanian phoenix throws off the ashes of the tragic times and sails victorious to the Vlore of freedom. Long live Vlore. [applause]

The hoisting of the flag and the Vlore Assembly departed Albania from the long Ottoman night and laid the foundations of a new Albanian State. This state was a product of the century-long political, military, cultural, and spiritual efforts of a nation martyred by wars. Albania's independence was a direct result of the gigantic liberated insurrections of 1908-12, in which the martyr Kosovo and the whole of Albania transmitted to Europe and the world the Albanian message of liberation and independence. All Albanians were united around the great ideals of independence. The Albanian State was summoned into the Balkan's agitated scene by the objective necessity to unify a split nation, unite all the ruptured territories into one integrity, and move ahead side by side with the developed countries, displaying its physiognomy, culture, language, and the developed literature of the national independence period, with the consciousness of a wise and brave nation. Our nation's distinguished men, such as Ismail Qemali and Hasan Prishtina, Vehbi Hoxha and Isa Boletini, Luigi Gurakuqi and Mihal Grameno, Babe Duda Karbunara and Hasan Toptani, and so many others, stand on the pedestal of this monumental event. They [words indistinct] for their life and [words indistinct].

Albania's independence was proclaimed at a gloomy time of the Balkan unrest and when the Ottoman Empire was crawling toward the East. The chauvinists rushed into our country's territories. Half of the Albanian territories were left outside the borders to satisfy their rapacious ambitions, thus marking one of the greatest injustices that the history of Europe has known so far.

Ladies and gentlemen, not so many years after the proclamation of independence, a great disaster hit Albania. The Nazi-fascist troops invaded our country and robbed the nation. Even this time, the Albanians rose, weapons in hand, to defend freedom, displaying boundless bravery and making extraordinary sacrifices. The national-liberation war ranked them in a great antifascist coalition, and they emerged victorious from the world war. The sons and daughters of Albania who fought and laid down their lives in this war are and will always be honored. They fought for a free and democratic Albania. The communist dictatorship assigned at the head a group of adventurers and political criminals, whereas the liberation war brought freedom. That is why I invite you to shout: Honor forever to the martyrs of the National-Liberation War and of the Albanian nation. [applause]

Dear friends, for us Albanians even this century has generally been full of difficulties, wars, disintegrations, efforts, echoes, and today the Albanian nation is still facing the great challenges and tests, whose triumph requires from all Albanians a great courage, determination, commitment, wisdom, and above all real unity, unity in freedom. Of course, there is no doubt that every

moment in time is valuable and important for a nation. I would stress that the moments of the beginning are of extraordinary importance, because they determine the course and flow not only of the years but also of the future decades. We are presently experiencing times of great difficulties and chances. However, after half a century of dictatorship, we have presently won all freedoms and established a parliamentary republic. We have taken our country from the whirlpool of history and are developing and learning democracy, free initiative, a law-governed state, and market economy. I am confident that we will know how to use the freedoms we have gained to dominate our time and lead Albania toward the civilized Europe. For the first time in our century-old history forces and times favor democracy. Our duties are great. Delayed by fate and history, we should have to unfailingly hurry to win the lost time. We should not forget that if the beginning of this century found Albanians in robbery, the end of this century should find them free, though poor [words indistinct]. [applause]

Ladies and gentleman, Albanians today are facing another great test, that of fairly solving the national question. We are determined in our open-door policy to contribute to peace and stability in our region, wishing friendship and cooperation with the neighbors and all democratic countries. Albanians, in the Balkans and wherever they are, are fighting and making efforts to establish a democratic state and human and national rights. Thus in Kosovo, Albanians are the sole Pelasgian inhabitants who experienced conquests and [word indistinct]. The barracks of [word indistinct] and Milosevic are threatening on the eve of an genocidal war. They request their human and national rights with self-restraint, tolerance, and admirable determinedness. The Albanians of Macedonia are rendering a great contribution in ensuring stability and independence of our neighbor. I am convinced that the world highly assesses the stance maintained by Albanians and their contribution in preventing a Balkan war. Albania hopes and believes that the international community will seriously render its contribution to prevent the conflict in Kosovo and fairly solve the national question. Albania does not require a violent change of borders, but it is determined to work to prevent the conflict tirelessly and with perseverance. However, we stress that we will never tolerate the ethnic cleansing of Albanians from their century-old territories. We have also insisted and continue to insist that without a fair solution of the problem of Albanians and full respect for their national and human rights in compliance with the CSCE principles, the crisis in the region cannot be solved.

Ladies and gentleman, we come to the 80th anniversary of independence facing the great tests and challenges, whose fair solution will be a determining factor for us and future generations. I am convinced that we will be together in the heights they require, primarily because we are now freer than ever, more determined, and wiser than ever. We are not alone in this difficult road full of new sacrifices. Noble countries and people have helped

and are helping us more than ever. Allow me on this occasion that to express in your name and on behalf of all Albanians our sincere gratitude to all those people and countries, governments, organizations, and individuals that extended friendship to Albania during this difficult period. I guarantee them that we Albanians assess and love friends very much, and we always stick to the principle that to have friends we should first be friends ourselves.

Albanian brothers and sisters wherever you are, I call on you not to forget that today we should be more united than ever and that the [word indistinct] problems are those that divide us and great and internal are those that unite us. As a matter of fact we belong today to various parties, but all of them unite us in freedom. The people cannot share the fruits of freedom. [sentence as heard] Freedom connections are the strongest. Our unity lies in freedom. If unity is lost, freedom is lost. Long live freedom. [applause]

[passage indistinct] Our unity lies in God.

It is true that in this struggle, borders, seas and oceans divide us, but blood and the milk of the Albanian mothers unite us. Glory to our mothers! [applause]

The soul unites us, because the nation is like an individual. You can break its body into pieces, but you can never break the soul. The soul is unbreakable. The soul is eternal. Long live the Albanian nation! [applause]

Our black and red eagle unites us, the flag of Scanderbeg and Ismail Qemali. This flag is a saint, the soul of a martyr is resting in each of its cells. Glory to the nation's martyrs. [applause]

Above all, Albania united us, the mother land of all Albanians, our temple. Long live Albania. [applause]

Brothers and sisters, let us work together, with our sweat and wisdom, the help of friends, and God's will, to give Albania the view of our hopes and of our children and fulfill our civil ideals for an Albania as a lady in the bosom of the developed countries. [applause]

Serreqi Praises Istanbul Conference Results

AU2811172192 Tirana ATA in English 1113 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 28 (ATA)—In his interview with the TV reporter following his return from Istanbul, the Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi said that the conclusion drawn from Istanbul's conference ended in a statement, which was approved by consensus. He said that in this meeting all shared the opinion that despite the decisions taken by the peace conference in London, despite the proceedings of Geneva conference, the Serb authorities continue with their logic of war and observe none of the decisions and obligation stemming from these forums. He said that in this meeting it was also pointed out that the participants of the regional countries, as neighbouring countries are much more

interested in the solution to the crisis, because they are more threatened by the extension of the war. In this direction, he said, all agreed that the international community should have a more limited time at its disposal to prevent the extension of the conflict, therefore, more concrete measures should be taken. One of the measures proposed was to build up international presence in the hot bed areas through the peace forces, which should have a mandate to carry out this mission, and not as until now. The meeting proposed that these forces be present in Macedonia, Kosovo, south Serbia, Sandjak in order to prevent the extension of conflict. Further on Minister Serreqi said that in general the conference is of the opinion that the situation is really tense and, provided the war extends to Kosovo, this would mean the beginning of a Balkan war.

In continuation the Albanian foreign minister said that our opinion is that the representatives of Kosovo should be present at Istanbul's conference. Whereas the presence of Macedonia in it is that it be recognized as a state. We presented our views that the latest events in Macedonia are neither in the interest of the Albanians nor of the Macedonians, but serve the third forces which wish to destabilize the situation there. We aired our views that we have no objection to Macedonia's recognition, provided the latter respects all the legitimate rights of the Albanians there. Istanbul's conference and the final document approved explain the fact that this conference counterposes neither the London conference nor that of Geneva, on the contrary it continues to contribute in this direction.

Council of Ministers Approves Tariff, Price Bills

AU2411143492 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 24 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 24 (ATA)—In its meeting on November 23, the government examined and approved several draft decisions, which will be submitted to the parliament for approval. These draft decisions include those on prices and tariffs, the reduction of some of the state budget funds, the increase of the coal retail sale prices, granting of scholarships to the pupils of professional middle and general boarding schools, and other draft decisions.

Regarding the draft decision on prices and tariffs, they decided to lift the circulation and double tax on the food stuffs imports, which favours the traders of such goods. Of interest is also the approval of the draft law presented by the Ministry of Health to grant licenses for exercising free private profession to the doctors, dentists, nurses, midwives, and others. All the procedure will be based on legislation and experience of the most developed countries.

In order to create more favourable conditions for the mission of the European Community to exercise control on the Albanian-Yugoslav border, the Council of Ministers decided to approve the draft decision presented to this end. The meeting also approved some other draft

decisions on the draft convention for cultural and scientific cooperation with the Black Sea and other countries.

Government Views Privatization, Accountancy Bills

AU2711214892 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 27
Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 27 (ATA)—Two draft laws were discussed by the Council of Ministers on November 26: that on accountancy and privatization of the state apartments. These two draft laws will be submitted to the parliament. The draft law on accountancy is the supreme legislative act, which arranges the affairs in this area. This draft law aims to make accountancy as a special system of the reorganization of financial information, respond to the requirements of the process of the transformation of the Albanian economy into market economy, and contributes to this process. It is foreseen that the accountancy system for the foreign firms and private sector be applied in 1993. Nevertheless, next

week this draft law will be discussed at the parliament, which will make the final decision on the content and date of application.

The second draft law was that on the privatization of state apartments. It contains 28 articles and after being endorsed by the parliament it is incumbent upon the Council of Ministers to issue decrees and the respective acts and treat also with the incomplete apartment blocks of 1992.

According to this project the states gives free of charge apartments having two rooms and a kitchen built till 1965 and the apartments with one room and a kitchen built until 1970. A special article defines that the apartments of former political prisoners and internees are given free of charge, irrespective of the sort of flat.

The draft law provides two aspects by which the state subsidizes the housing in general, such as the credits by the private owners till June 31, 1991. This sum is estimated to about 80 million leks and will be defrayed by the state budget. About 13 families of our cities profit from this draft law.

Dogan Explains Government's Failure**First Installment**

AU3011090392 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 23 Nov 92 p 6

[First of two installments of interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement, by Pepa Vitanova; place and date not given: "The Cabinet's Fall Was Due to Its Own Sense of Messianic Mission"]

[Text] [Vitanova] Mr. Dogan, by the end of July 1992 you predicted that the Dimitrov cabinet would not last through September 1992. You were two months off in your forecast. However, instead of being content, you expressed your regret that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] let things go so far....

[Dogan] The first SDS government up until the last moment failed to submit a program, which is an unprecedented case in our country's history, let alone compared with European and worldwide standards. When I said that this government would not last through the end of September, I meant that as long as the cabinet did not take note and seriously try to improve its work under the control of the SDS Parliamentary Group, it is natural that we should raise the question of a totally new SDS government or a government composed by the parliamentary majority.

As far as the second part of your question is concerned, I must admit my sincere regret that things have gone so far because I am convinced that the SDS alone is responsible for the failure of its own cabinet. No one can convince me that this is not so. The Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] gave the government exceptionally great chances, which applies to the stage of its formation during the May 1992 crisis, as well as the recent period. To put it more precisely, these chances are first reflected by the DPS proposal of forming a coalition cabinet. Second, we should mention the compromises that we were ready to make regarding several items of our joint program for the implementation of which were supposed to cooperate.

[Vitanova] Nevertheless, you were accused of inconsistent behavior. First, you denounced Filip Dimitrov; you voted against him, but then a few days later you expressed the wish to participate in a coalition cabinet under the same prime minister. All sorts of assumptions were heard—beginning with the suspicion that you were trying to slander the government and ending with rumors that someone was blackmailing you.

[Dogan] I would like to be very frank. The DPS Central Council lost confidence in Mr. Dimitrov about two months ago. Despite all this, for the sake of supporting the SDS idea and the purpose of safeguarding the parliamentary majority and the SDS government on the basis of a program that embodies the interests of our

common electorate, the DPS was ready for a compromise. Our wish to commit ourselves on the basis of the coalition principle by participating in the SDS government reflected our sense of responsibility. In the opposite case, the cabinet would have had great difficulties in obtaining more parliamentary support.

All of these actions are interrelated regarding political logic and I was very surprised when Mr. Sugarev last night seemed to discover some illogical aspects in our behavior. From the point of view of our common electorate, we could be useful only if directly involved in the administration, which would enable us to introduce some corrections from the inside. Our decision to join an SDS coalition government was a risky compromise and by sharing the responsibility we could not help posing some conditions. In political language, this means: "Friendship is all very well, but it has its price."

[Vitanova] Why did you not come to a final agreement, were you asking for too much, or did they refuse to make even the slightest concession? People in the SDS accused you of posing rather strange and vague conditions, of not having proposed specific candidates for the requested ministerial posts....

[Dogan] Look, any such arguments are nothing but an attempt at distorting the truth or, to put it more precisely, an elementary trick for populist manipulation of the electorate. In the first place, I am by no means obliged to submit a specific list of names to Mr. Dimitrov, considering that he did not submit any such list to me, despite being officially authorized to form a cabinet. In normal countries, two coalition partners that are willing to form a government are playing with open cards regarding the occupation of cabinet posts, which applies to both the structural organization and the nomination of individual candidates.

Until the last moment, I did not understand—and I still do not know—which candidates Mr. Dimitrov intended to propose for specific cabinet posts. He never mentioned any names. If he ever did so, it occurred at the price of great efforts on our part. I presume you agree that, under such circumstances, I did not feel obliged to reveal my plans. We were ready to submit specific nominations as early as in the first stage of negotiations, but we were immediately confronted with the unwillingness of our partner to surrender the requested ministries.

In the last stage of negotiations, a controversy flared up about the Ministry of Justice and the National Intelligence Service. The other side almost categorically requested us to cede those cabinet seats to them without any concessions on their part and support the already submitted bill on transferring the National Intelligence Service from the president's jurisdiction to that of the prime minister. The talks deviated in a direction that had nothing to do with the subject discussed and with its essential aspects, such as for example, the argument that

parliamentary control over the special services could only exist as long as they are subordinate to the executive power.

[Vitanova] Mr. Dimitrov even stated that "decency" required the SDS to control the security services, while the SDS National Coordinating Council claimed that the National Intelligence Service issue was a "method of testing" the DPS's loyalty to the president.

[Dogan] I would rather accept such arguments as the subject of a noncommittal chat among friends over a cup of coffee. As early as the beginning of our talks, I told Filip Dimitrov: "We are artists belonging to the same circus, we know each other's tricks, and we are still trying to play tricks on each other."

From the very beginning of negotiations, we stated our basic conviction that, for the sake of the country's stability and in view of the difficult state of transition, the bread, knife, and cheese should not lay within the same hands. The conclusion that the SDS should have drawn from this argument was that whatever government should be established at this stage, it cannot not achieve anything as long as it continues to think and work according to the same single-minded pattern. Such a government is inevitably doomed to failure.

Only by practicing the division of powers in a manner likely to mutually coordinate our decisions, especially regarding the work of the law enforcement ministries, we will obtain guarantees for the country's stability and the prevention of totalitarianism under its various aspects. Imagine a formula, under which all law enforcement ministries, intelligence, counterintelligence services, and the security, and police forces included, are laid within the same hands. Under such circumstances, our national security would actually depend on the will of a few people who are likely to reverse the situation at any moment. I am convinced that this is not a statesman-like approach and any arguments claiming that the services in question are allegedly still controlled by the KGB, or still represent a den of undismantled totalitarianism cannot be taken seriously. As a matter of fact, undismantled totalitarian structures still exist all over the country. We should not forget that approximately 95-96 percent of Bulgarian enterprises are still state-owned. Almost the entire system of the Internal Affairs Ministry has preserved its old structures, which applies to both the cadres and its functions. The same applies to all departments involved with national security, including the Army.

To aspire for control over the intelligence service at the very moment in which your partner extends his hand to you is a primitive, petty, but also dangerous game in my view. No party that has any self-respect would make concessions at this price.

There is already a danger that the DPS parliamentary group may turn into a satellite of the SDS deputies. None of our requests was fulfilled. We withdrew our confidence from the prime minister, while in the meantime the SDS is still insisting on his nomination as head of the

new government. This happened after the meeting behind closed doors dealing with the arms transaction affair, as a result of which we obtained evidence about members of the prime minister's team that violated the laws of the country.

[Vitanova] Do you have the feeling that Mr. Filip Dimitrov's uncompromising stand was intentional, especially over the last week? He seemed deliberately resolved to foil the negotiations. Rumors were heard that new details related to the notorious arms trade affair were revealed a few days ago, after which Mr. Dimitrov appeared as a rather dubious choice for the nomination of a prime minister. Hence, the SDS was perhaps trying to find an elegant way of removing him from the scene by proposing the confidence vote....

[Dogan] The question is very delicate. I cannot commit myself to speculations about a connection between the prime minister's behavior and the illegal arms traffic affair. However, throughout the talks my suspicion that the SDS does not seriously strive for a strong government was confirmed. If I say so, and considering that I belong to the inner circle of negotiations and actively participate in the country's political life, you can trust me that I have reason to believe so. Until the last moment, the game of the SDS was similar to that of a desperate gambler. They adopted a firm stand, which was evidently doomed to failure, and were pleased themselves in the role of self-immolators. I cannot understand such things, and no one can persuade me with any convincing arguments whatsoever that he can provide a positive explanation for the case.

Whether this behavior is related to the Macedonian affair or not is a different matter. I would only ask the following question: If our intelligence services are really still representing the old structures or are controlled by some extraneous force, if we should accept this as the truth, would it not be logical to conclude that the striving for control over these services indicates a struggle for the possession of a reliable instrument for covering illegal transactions within the country, and even for the export of capital outside the country, rather than an effort to dismantle their totalitarian structures?

Hence, you see that every argument can be countered by an appropriate counterargument.

[Vitanova] Can you more specifically describe your demands for a revision of the reform that so much disturbed the SDS?

[Dogan] We did not intend any revision of the reform, we simply asked that the objective processes of development should be subject to certain corrections. We were too hasty in passing the privatization and restitution laws, especially those related to land property. The government's measures in connection with implementing the aforementioned laws were especially effective in the sphere of the restitution, which concerns only 3 percent of the Bulgarian population. On the other hand, we should examine the current form of restitution

that is by no means progressive because it is likely to create a social class of idle rich, thus obstructing the market economy and the reform as a whole. I also cannot accept that at this stage of the country's development, the majority of Bulgarian people should remain landless, while at the same time those whose land property was restored are paying no more than 12 leva of taxes per one decare of uncultivated land.

The government should have had a center for empirical research on the legal basis of the reform. In fact, it had absolutely no preliminary information at its disposal on the consequences of these laws, something inadmissible in normal countries' political practice. It will be difficult to master the processes as long as the government has no such council of experts on a sociological basis who can construct an objective picture of the phenomena regarding the relevant laws and their consequences and investigate what additional laws are needed as the main laws are applied.

[Vitanova] Some have claimed that the DPS mounted a brilliant scenario to enable it to achieve its own independent cabinet, at the same time casting the responsibility on the SDS by transferring its mandate to convenient puppets chosen from the Alternative Social Liberal Party and the B-12 group [dissident group of SDS deputies led by Dimitur Ludzhev].

[Dogan] This is quite untrue. We declared that we would cede our mandate to the SDS as a mark of respect for a coalition that constitutes the agent of the transition both symbolically and in fact. However, the SDS should not forget that its rule is not assumed as an axiom. We never declared that we wanted to pass the ball to someone else. In a very elegant way we might, for example, grant this right to the extraparlimentary forces or, say, to a government of experts. At this stage we have not yet formed a precise viewpoint on the question to whom we should grant power, if we accept the mandate to form a cabinet.

[Vitanova] The SDS Coordinating Council has already issued a reminder to you through the second ultimatum adopted at its September meeting, according to which SDS members are forbidden to take part in the cabinets of other political forces.

[Dogan] That is their problem. However, with such a style of thinking and such pigheadedness, typical of slighted children, it is difficult for a party to emerge as a winner in the game of politics because the game has to be played according to certain rules.

If we want to be precise, I very much doubt that this was our first democratically elected government, but I am fully convinced that it was the first one to be deposed democratically.

The SDS was responsible for sealing its own fate. The style of conduct imposed in the coalition is a fundamental obstacle to reacting to events in a flexible way and to giving a green light to the new processes and

various innovations both within and outside the SDS. The sense of messianic mission among certain persons and groups in the SDS has already acquired pathological dimensions.

Let us not tell lies—the kind of power that F. Dimitrov has exercised this year could have been wielded by Todor Zhivkov. I state this quite categorically. Dimitrov's cabinet was hardly subject to any parliamentary control, and as long as it existed, it was merely a formal body. The decisions of the SDS National Coordinating Council, which precisely corresponds to the former Central Committee were automatically handed down to their parliamentary group, which confirmed the decisions in every case. Amendments or adjustments, apart from cosmetic ones, were almost impossible.

Their sense of messianic mission led to the disastrous principle of talking in monologues. I was completely perplexed when during the negotiations I saw how Dimitrov showed almost no interest in what we were thinking. He received us as if we were supposed to know what he thought about every issue.

This is the chief defect in the SDS leaders' approach to maintaining communications, and unless it is corrected, there is a risk that the SDS may never again get even a whiff of power. Such barrack-room principles as "you should keep quiet when talking with me" may at some juncture turn this defect into a general process of annihilation and put the very future of the SDS in doubt.

They are behaving as if they won 70 percent of the votes in the elections. Look, all of this is ridiculous. If you have taken power almost on credit, supported by only one-third of the electorate, and you also have ambitions to control the Presidency and the executive, judicial, and legislative branches, you will not get very far. Your shoulder may bend, and you will certainly never manage to lift this heavy basket. In my view, to have claims to such total power on such a global scale is sheer impudence, to put it mildly.

Just imaging the paradox—they even refused to accept the formula of a coalition cabinet, but insisted on the form of words "a government with DPS participation." However, without our support this government simply could not exist, it simply would not have a parliamentary majority and everything stemming from this.

Exclusive involvement with its own ideas, a sense of messianic mission, talking in monologues, narcissistically contemplating itself in the mirror, total autocommunication—this is what the SDS is like at the moment.

Second Installment

AU3011091392 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 24 Nov 92 p 8

[Second of two installments of interview with Ahmed Dogan, leader of the Rights and Freedoms Movement,

by Pepa Vitanova; place and date not given: "The Cabinet's Fall Was Due to Its Own Sense of Messianic Mission")

[Text] [Vitanova] You said that you possess information about the beginning of a rapprochement between the ultra-right and ultra-left elements in parliament. Even during the summer, you spoke about a forthcoming realignment of the political scene in parliament, but then you expected the opposite to happen—that is, for a strong center of the moderate left and right to emerge.

[Dogan] This is almost a rule in politics—if a crisis of power drags on too long, the most extreme parties try to exploit the situation. Both our blue [Union of Democratic Forces] and red [Socialist] hardliners tried the ploy of forging a union on the basis of nationalism. If they really manage to form a coalition, they should be aware that in any event a counterbalance will be found to this process.

Unfortunately, forces exist in our society that are ready to turn Bulgaria into a second Yugoslavia, solely with the aim of acquiring a place for themselves in political life. I would remind them of the quotation from the New Testament: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

[Vitanova] I assume you realize that your name will continue to be on everyone's lips. Together with the president, you will be accused of causing all our national troubles—from the snowstorms of winter to depriving us of foreign investments. People have already started saying that the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] overthrew the government under direction from the KGB.

[Dogan] The invention of such fabrications to explain the processes is certainly a sign of weakness. In this connection I would remind you of the principle of Ockham's razor: "Do not use God's services unnecessarily." [as published] It would not be a bad idea to apply this piece of medieval wisdom in political life: Whatever you do, when you have no concrete proof, you should not resort to irrational explanations.

Certain forces in the SDS feel an internal compulsion to seek the image of the enemy to explain their own inability to rule. They look for minotaurs to explain why they increasingly fail to find a way out of the labyrinth, and these minotaurs have to be given flesh and blood, in the form of the trade unions, president, DPS, and BSP.

[Vitanova] Are you afraid of forthcoming elections, in which you may lose your key role of a parliamentary arbiter?

[Dogan] Look, this role is not at all to my liking, personally speaking. I would like some other party to take it up.

As far as being afraid of elections is concerned, I am convinced that the DPS is in the best possible starting position. I would like to remind the politicians who are inclined to take a gamble that anyone who has doubted our ability to master the political poker game has very quickly come to the conclusion that he must brush up his knowledge before starting to play with us.

[Vitanova] In your opinion, what is the solution to the political crisis?

[Dogan] I can only say that we are alright, but we will cope with it. I prefer to refrain from making specific forecasts because I am very much in the thick of developments, and anything I say may be interpreted as a further scenario aimed at predetermining the course of events.

However, I would like to emphasize that the fall of the cabinet should in no way be dramatized. This is a natural part of the process of consolidating truly democratic goals.

[Vitanova] Mr. Dogan, did you read Saturday's [21 November] issue of DEMOKRATSIYA?

[Dogan] Since they appointed Comrade Enyu Mutaftchiya [ironic Turkish version of Encho Mutafov, DEMOKRATSIYA editor in chief] as chief night watchman at DEMOKRATSIYA, we do not read it or consider it has any value.

Meciar on Interparty Talks on Gabčíkovo Dam*LD2811180792 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT
28 Nov 92*

[Text] Bratislava, November 28 (MTI)—The trilateral talks on the Gabčíkovo dam in Brussels promise a favourable outcome for the Czechoslovak side, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), said in Bratislava on Saturday [28 November].

Meciar held talks with a delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the biggest party of Hungary's governing coalition, headed by Deputy President Gabriella Farkas. The meeting was not announced in advance. Meciar told MTI he agreed with HDF Executive President Lajos Fur last Autumn on the possibility of interparty meetings, "as a reserve option for the failure of interstate talks."

In a situation when the Hungarian Government's hands are bound by the parliamentary decision that Hungary should withdraw from the joint construction of the water barrage, interparty talks offer a good forum for Slovak-Hungarian relations, Meciar said.

The prime minister said the sides agreed on displaying restraint so as not to aggravate the situation. They also agreed that they would accept the position of the European Community as a basis for a later agreement. The talks are expected to last until tonight.

Gabčíkovo Work Suspension Presents Flood Danger*AU2511125292 Prague CTK in English 2139 GMT
23 Nov 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 23 (CTK)—Halting work on the Gabčíkovo water works on the Danube as agreed on by the Brussels commission of experts might pose the threat of floods, deputy director of the Bratislava-based water management construction enterprise building the project Jan Obložinský told CTK today.

On Saturday [21 November], Czechoslovakia pledged to immediately halt all work at Gabčíkovo with the exception of maintenance necessary to preserve the essence of the existing equipment. Obložinský said he was surprised by the decision as the maintenance as mentioned in the pledge does not apply to the equipment used to drain away water when the water level increases. He added that he expects a dangerous increase of the Danube level during the day, but does not know how the situation will be solved.

The pledge to halt work at Gabčíkovo was made on the last day of the work of a group of experts comprising representatives of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the European Community (EC) which had been since November 6 discussing various aspects of the controversial Danube project.

The office of the government commissioner for the construction of Gabčíkovo today said it will only respond to the Brussels decision when it learns about its details. This is why no stand on the halting of work has as yet been taken, Milan Jencik of the office said. He nevertheless confirmed that the work has been halted.

The conclusions reached by the group of experts in Brussels and its recommendations are to be kept secret at least until November 27 when a second round of talks on Gabčíkovo between representatives of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the EC is to take place in Brussels.

If the current effort of the EC for mediating a solution to the Czechoslovak-Hungarian dispute over the Danube project on the Slovak-Hungarian border fails, the dispute will be passed for judgment to the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

The Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water works started to be built jointly by Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1978, but in 1989 Hungary unilaterally halted work on its part of the project at Nagymaros citing environmental reasons. In May 1992 Hungary rescinded its 1977 agreement with Czechoslovakia on the construction of the twin-dam project while Czechoslovakia went ahead with its part at Gabčíkovo.

Following the damming of the Danube, against which Hungary resolutely protested, first electricity was produced at the Gabčíkovo hydroelectric plant on October 27 and navigation in a new canal opened November 10.

The stoppage of work on the Gabčíkovo hydroproject will cause Slovakia a loss of about seven million crowns (250,000 USD [U.S. dollars]) per day, representatives of "Vodohospodarska Vystavba", the Slovak enterprise building the project, told TA SR today.

According to the same sources, the probability of damage being caused to the structures which have not been completed and to lower-situated areas in case of floods is higher now. The Slovak Hydrometeorological Institute in Bratislava has reported that precipitation has caused the surface of the Danube quickly increasing.

Milan Jencik from the office of the Slovak Government's commissioner for the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros project construction told CTK that halting work on the Gabčíkovo project should be regarded as an accommodating step taken by the Czechoslovak side. He thinks that there is no threat of floods, but added that increased attention must be paid to the structure.

Hungary accepts Czechoslovakia's pledge to stop work on the hydroproject at Gabčíkovo on the Danube as of November 21, Hungarian Government Spokesman Janos Hermann told CTK by phone today. Hermann said that even though the Czechoslovak side had not lived up to its previous commitments, Hungary welcomes the Czechoslovak step and is waiting for the expert commission to announce its conclusions.

November 28. Herman thinks that the danger of floods on the Danube is not acute.

Official Debunks Hungarian Statement on Dam

LD2911224392 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] Dominik Kocinger, commissioner of the CSFR Government and of the Slovak Republic for the construction and the operation of the Gabčíkovo hydroproject, described today's Hungarian Foreign Ministry statement that the Danube at Cunovo was dammed in an irresponsible and unprofessional way as a mystery.

In an interview with a TA SR correspondent, he said that the facilities built on the Danube were not of such a poor quality. This is proved by the fact that even though the facilities of the substitute solution to the construction of Gabčíkovo have not been completed, the recent exceptionally rapid onset of the flood wave was brought under control.

He added that the report by the group of EC experts said that the construction of the C variant must be finished to deal with a winter flood, should it occur.

Czech Parliament Approves Post-Breakup Treaties

AU2611155492 Prague CTK in English 1617 GMT
24 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 24 (CTK)—At its 8th session today, the Czech National Council (parliament) approved the Czech-Slovak Treaty on a Customs Union, which was signed by the two premiers in Prague October 29.

This is the first of the 16 documents agreed upon by the Czech and Slovak Governments in Javorina, North Slovakia, October 26, and signed by Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar October 29. The agreements will guide Czech-Slovak relations after the split of Czechoslovakia as of January 1, 1993.

The treaty provides for the creation of a single area on which free movement of goods and services will be ensured through the abolition of customs and nontariff measures. The Czech parliament also approved a Czech-Slovak Treaty on Demarcation of the Common State Border and a Treaty on the Regime and Cooperation on the Common State Border.

Under the treaty on border demarcation, the state border is identical with the present administrative border of the two republics. The parliament also approved a treaty abolishing visa requirements in relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics and an agreement on joint procedure in questions regarding the stay of foreigners from third countries on the territory of either of the two republics.

The agreement stipulates that a foreigner from a third state who has been forbidden to stay on the territory of

one of the two contracting parties, must not stay on the territory of the other either.

Further documents approved by the Czech parliament are: Treaty on Social Security, Treaty on Mutual Employment of Citizens, Treaty on Legal Assistance and on Legal Relations in Civic and Penal Matters, Agreement on the Joint Use of Specified Information and Archives Set Up by the Interior Ministries, Agreement on Cooperation in the Area of Telecommunications and the Code Service, Agreement on Cooperation in the Area of Education, Agreement on Mutual Recognition of the Equivalence of Documents on Education and Documents on Scientific Degrees and Titles, and Agreement in the Area of Health Services.

Under the Treaty on Social Security, old-age and health insurance of an economically active persons is ensured in harmony with the legal regulations of the state on the territory of which economic activity is performed.

The Treaty on Mutual Employment provides for free movement of the work force between the two republics.

The Treaty on Legal Assistance ensures equal legal protection for the citizens of both republics on the territory of the other state.

The Agreement on Education ensures free and equal access to education for a citizen of either republic provided he or she resides permanently or on a long-term basis on the territory of the other republic.

The Czech parliament has not discussed the treaty on settling the legal effects of the establishment of two independent states in the area of personal documents, travel documents, driving licenses, registration of vehicles, weapons and ammunition.

The guarantor committee of the Czech parliament—the Committee for Legal Protection and Security—has not recommended it for approval. The reasons have not been announced.

The Treaty on a Monetary System, approved by the Czech parliament today, is mainly aimed at ensuring the separation of the Czech and Slovak currencies, Czech Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said.

The separation will have three stages. In the first, the two states will have a common currency. In the second stage, there will be two currencies with a 1:1 exchange rate, and in the third stage two independent currencies will be introduced. Their exchange rate will depend on the economic power of the two newly established states, Kocarnik said.

In the transitional period, the two countries will use a common currency, the crown, he added.

All functions of the common currency will be ensured by the Currency Committee which will consist of the two

countries' central bank governors and two staffers from each bank, Kocarnik went on to say.

He said that before the end of the year, laws on the two republics' central banks are to be passed.

The Agreement on Cooperation in the Protection and Creation of the Environment, also approved today, mainly provides for cooperation along the joint state border and in international regional projects.

All Czech-Slovak documents were supported by the coalition parties' deputies and by a majority of deputies from the opposition Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD).

Deputies from the Liberal Social Union (LSU) voted individually, according to their own opinions. No deputy from the Left Bloc (LB—Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia and the Democratic Left of Czechoslovakia) and from the Assembly For the Republic—Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC) voted in favour of any documents.

Also today, the Czech parliament approved a law on the value-added tax which is most important for the implementation of economic reforms.

The tax is expected to help substantially reduce black market in cigarettes and alcohol.

The law provides for two different taxes to be applied in the sale of goods—23 and 5 percent. The lower taxes will be imposed on essential foodstuffs, mineral oil, mineral fuels, antibiotics, and other items. Taxes will also be imposed on foreign-made goods, while exports will be relieved of taxes.

Czech Prime Minister Discusses Federation Vote

LD2511234992 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by unidentified correspondent in Bratislava on 25 November—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, the outcome of the vote was very close. What do you think of it? How would you sum it up?

[Klaus] The result was close and the closeness exactly reflects the split in this Federal Assembly. From that aspect the closeness is simply the reality. I am happy that the result was such as it was. It is a relief for us all on the Czech side. Undoubtedly, there must have been a sigh of relief on the Slovak side, too. On the other hand it cannot be said that all obstacles, difficulties, problems have been overcome. That did not happen today. But we did make a bit of progress.

[Correspondent] Do you think that in the Czech Republic there will not be such problems between the

Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council concerning the incorporation of deputies?

[Klaus] But of course, there certainly will be. I have just said that today's act did not solve everything and that a lot of problems remain. Nevertheless, a significant signal has been sent abroad and the world really needed that very much. It was a positive signal. It was a significant signal sent to the disquieted public, who needed it too because they were beginning to lose their bearings in the finesse of the supplementary modification proposals, etc. There has been a kind of assurance given to the national councils and national governments that they should really start working intensively on other matters, and that is really quite a lot.

[Correspondent] How do you see the future cooperation beginning 1 January between the two republics?

[Klaus] I keep saying that the cooperation will be better and more honest than so far. Also, it seems that cooperation within the federation was no longer possible. I personally regret that but I believe that all the treaties which we are signing on the one hand—that is the legal, legislative aspect—and the personal relations which we have and had and are being strengthened with the representatives of Slovakia give us a good chance for having very good relations in the future. I certainly hope so.

Prime Minister Interviewed on Federation Breakup

LD281113492 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 27 Nov 92

[“Regular” interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Alica Bielikova; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, the final decision has been made. As of 1 January we will be an independent and sovereign republic. It also means that the government of the Slovak Republic will take over full responsibility for how and where Slovakia will be heading. According to the latest opinion poll, however, as many as 32 percent of respondents said that already the first 100 days of the Slovak Government did not meet their expectations. Only one-fifth, i.e. 18 percent, were satisfied. Do you take this into consideration?

[Meciar] More factors are being taken into consideration. Not only the results of this opinion poll but future trends as well. When after the elections [June 1992] the government set out to do its work with the understanding that it would begin from the very foundations, while the building can only be seen when already above the ground.

The government set out to build the statehood from its foundations, via the Constitution, via agreements with the Czech Republic, via the solution to the state set-up, be it in one or another form, but certainly one that would

be stabilizing and one that would not cause permanent disruption. [passage omitted]

We were not interested in an immediate and short-term effect and fast success. We could have achieved that with two or three cheap steps and we would have been popular. But the time would be lost. At present, activities needed for future changes in the economy and in social relations are being launched. These are very profound activities and are being rebuilt from their foundations. Hence, those who were expecting speedy change in Slovakia in 100 days did not see their expectations being met. Those who were waiting for an immediate onset onto the way of a lasting change and of a lasting improvement have seen this happen. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] How do you get along with Mr. Knazko?

[Meciar] The fact that we have different views about certain things does not mean that we are foes. [passage omitted] We have different views about some matters, like the pace of the work, sequence of steps, that is true, but it is nonsense to see in it a fundamental change, malice or a threat to the opposition.

[Bielikova] Mr. Prime Minister, what will happen with the treaties, the agreements between national governments that you and Mr. Klaus signed. Do they have to be valid also after 1 January 1993?

[Meciar] The agreements that we concluded are the basis for future relations between Czechs and Slovaks, since the legal regulation ends [as heard]. The laws that until now were common and that both republics adhered to will not exist on 1 January. Only what has been agreed will exist. If we want the economic and social life to continue normally there can be no other rules for it but these agreements. Therefore we ascribed much importance to them and therefore we submitted them promptly to the national councils for approval.

[Bielikova] How well is Slovak diplomacy prepared for the independence? [passage omitted]

[Meciar] Here we must take into consideration the starting conditions of the Czech lands and Slovakia. They are different. In the Czech lands there already are embassies, all central bodies are already there. Czech diplomacy is not in the same situation as the Slovak diplomacy; we have to start from scratch. There were several consulates here, but no embassies, even no diplomatic services. Preparation for entry into diplomatic services was limited to a small number of people. [passage omitted]. As far as foreign visits are concerned, Minister Knazko has just been abroad to Ukraine; we have made foreign visits that were inevitable for the diplomatic recognition of Slovakia. We still need to establish a Constitutional Court, Board of Control [kontrolny dvor], Ministry of Defense, and other institutions so that the state continues to fulfil its functions without interruption.

[Bielikova] Although the act on the termination of the CSFR specifies that the successor states must not use the symbols CSFR, you know that the world actually used only the first part of the name of our state, that is, Czech, and that the abbreviation will remain for the Czech Republic. There will be CTK, Czech Radio, the Czech koruna, and even the governor of the Czech National Bank will probably be the present governor of the Czechoslovak State Bank, Mr. Tosovsky, who has enormous contacts and experience. Will not Slovakia remain in the shadows for this reason?

[Meciar] All the steps we are taking are supposed to take us out of that shadow. It is a fact that the way out of the shadow is a gradual one, a system of steps leading us out of the shadow and putting us where we lawfully and justly belong, that is, as an equal partner in everything. If we are listing all the things in which the Czech Republic is better, then we are only proving the reasons of our dissatisfaction. We did not have equal participation in all public matters, be it in banking, be it other things. So the scarcity of experts leads to the fact that the source of departure for our government is more complex, but we are coping. If the Czechoslovak State Bank can be declared a Czech bank, then we must build the Slovak Bank from the beginning. The Slovak Bank, or the Czechoslovak State Bank's branch in Slovakia only recorded statistics, it did not do accounting. Today that bank should become an issuing bank. So it is a more complicated process than might seem at first glance. There is one thing we can say today—despite this handicap there is no chaos or confusion. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] This morning we heard reports that the Czech currency, the new currency, would be ready by Easter. Are we also ready?

[Meciar] Do not believe such reports. The agreements are such that it is possible to transfer to the system of two currencies either by agreement or by a one-sided withdrawal. Of course, both sides announced that they would make technical preparations for their own issues, but the launching of the issue into circulation cannot be done without the coordination of both sides. They could depreciate one another's currency. So the Slovak side, too, is preparing its own issue; that is no secret, we have openly informed the Czech side of this fact, but when it will be I do not know. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] And my last question: What stance will you take on the issue of co-opting the Federal Assembly deputies in the National Council [of the Slovak Republic]?

[Meciar] This issue was the subject of a consultative meeting of the chairmen of all the Slovak political parties represented in the parliament. The conclusion arrived at was that all the parties would support the co-opting. As far as the method and functions to be fulfilled by the second chamber to be formed at the National Council are concerned, it should have an equal say in legislative work, while at the same time respecting the dominant

status of the existing chamber of the elected Slovak National Council with the right to form bodies, elect a president, etc. Thus, there are enough people to do the work, including them; there will be enough work for them, there will be a useful way to utilize their services.

The second chamber is the result of political talks, during which all sides arrived at the same view. The Party of Democratic Left held a slightly different view as it wanted to co-opt those deputies in the existing chamber—however, that would actually mean a change of the election results and this is something what we cannot allow to happen.

Political, Economic Issues

LD2911213092 Bratislava Slovak Television 1 Network
in Slovak 1740 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Regular Sunday television address by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, Esteemed Fellow Citizens. The dominant event last week was the decision taken by the Federal Assembly on ending the CSFR and on the constitution of two republics, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as of 1 January 1993. They say in England: The king is dead, long live the king! [passage omitted]

Of course, in connection with the development of the state, everybody asks what is coming next. What is going to happen now, before the end of the year? The fact that the Federal Assembly decided the way it did means that in the Federal Assembly we are still able to go about completing the bills that are being worked upon. At the level of the republics, we are still able to prepare inevitable agreements and to prevent something that might have happened, i.e. one republic seceding from the partnership, thus opening up totally new dimensions to future developments.

At the same time, scope has opened up for both republics to start working on the conclusion of international agreements between the two of them as well as with other states while the federation still exists. Hence, we continue to work. Hence, another very serious, very sensitive question linked to a great political responsibility has been resolved. The solution arrived at by the deputies was in keeping with their conscience, in line with the responsibility they hold to their voters.

I refute any doubts being cast on anyone from among them, any suspicions of dishonest intentions or of obtaining votes in a dishonest way on the Slovak side. We did nothing of the kind. We would never lower ourselves to anything of the kind. The constitution of a state is such a solemn occasion that we will do nothing to dim this solemn moment or cast doubts upon it.

When you ask what is to come after 1 January 1993, you mean above all social issues. Will things get better or worse? The answer is simple. How things will look

depends on how we work and manage our affairs. Looking at the economic results for 1991 and 1992, we find that such a question has not arisen by chance. There is a marked change in wages, incomes, between 1991 and 1992. They have dropped. However, discrepancies between individual incomes have also appeared. [passage omitted] We wish those on higher incomes all the best. We can only hope there will be more of them. People who create assets through their own work will increase their incomes.

There are other groups of people where no such clear growth appears. Even when the gap between incomes and prices is widening, we have seen people depositing 4.3 billion korunas worth of savings in the first half of 1992. To be fair, they were only certain groups of people. At the same time we see the average earnings in manufacturing are 4,051 korunas. Farmers are even worse off. Although they are getting over 3,700 korunas, the gap between them and the rest has been widening. We also see a rise in incomes where there is no direct manufacturing. The difference between wages earned in manufacturing and nonmanufacturing has been getting smaller.

Why am I going into such detail? After all, statistics are available. Is it really necessary for the premier to be talking about such things? Yes, it is. This will set the basis for our future outlook. It gives us a blueprint for solutions. The price rises, spurred by tax increases in 1991, later slowed down, but have continued in 1992. In some areas they can carry on into 1993. This has to be accompanied by wage deregulation. Wages have to rise, above all, for those in whose case it is feasible to have a pay rise because of economic results.

The government of the Slovak Republic has therefore adopted a stance whereby it has supported deregulation of wages in the last quarter of 1992. [passage omitted]

As far as the degree of our population's social welfare is concerned, we can see the growing number of those who rely on state help, i.e. families with a number of children, young families, one-parent families—their number has already reached 11 percent of the total. We are also aware of demands on social welfare concerning substantially bigger benefits than last year. [passage omitted]

In 1993 we are going to regulate in a sensitive way the relations in order to preserve the fundamental life certainties. However, we have also pointed out that everybody must perceive his own activities, his work as his fundamental life certainties. Work, the situation in many enterprises, economic and financial discipline, work output, all have to improve substantially—not just through the pressure of unemployment, but above all thanks to [words indistinct] interest in higher wages.

As far as the number of unemployed people is concerned, the situation is not the same everywhere. There are badly affected regions, for instance, in Eastern Slovakia it is Trebisov, Michalovce, Bardejov, in western Slovakia it is Dunajska Streda, in Central Slovakia it is Cadca,

Rimovska Sobota. These are the places where the creation of new job opportunities has to be supported by active state policy. [passage omitted]

The overall unemployment figure is 260,000, and over 86,000 people are in receipt of benefit.

Thus when we ask what will be our future in the social sphere, strict state regulation will continue to be necessary. However, there will be also guarantees for everybody who intends to make an honest living, to do honest work, that he will achieve daily life guarantees—and those who do not wish this can only rely on themselves.

Esteemed fellow citizens, thank you for your attention.

Meciar Criticizes EC-Imposed Export Restrictions

AU2711150592 Prague CTK in English 2230 GMT
25 Nov 92

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 25 (CTK)—The total loss caused by the restriction of steel exports to some countries of the European Community (EC) is bigger than the total aid provided to Slovakia by the EC to date, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said at a meeting with employees of Vychodoslovenske Zelezarny (East Slovakia Steel Plant, VSZ) during his working visit there today.

The restriction was criticised also by Zoltan Berghauer, president of the VSZ corporation. It is a political measure, not an economic one, he stressed.

Meciar went on to say that the (Slovak) state budget for 1993 has to be prepared as balanced by the government, in view of the quota which Slovakia wants to gain from the International Monetary Fund.

The state budget must be balanced, otherwise it would be a bad signal for the Czech Republic, which would have the right to flee away from the existing monetary bond, Meciar noted. He added that there can be some deficit in the end of the year, but no deficit can be counted on in the process of the budget's preparation.

After the Czechoslovak Federation's split as of January 1, 1993, the flows of financial means will become more lucid and the Slovak economy will cease to be only a complement to the Czech one. A maximum unemployment rate of 18 percent is expected for the next year in Slovakia, Meciar pointed out.

To reduce the unemployment rate and revive the economy, the government wants to implement a development programme for small and middle businessmen, for which it will earmark 2,000 million crowns (70 million dollars). According to Meciar, also the influx of foreign capital is expected to improve. Companies from Germany, Italy, and Austria are interested in investing in Slovakia, with the interest of Japan and Arab countries increasing, Meciar said.

Politicians React To Breakup Law Approval

AU2711150792 Prague CSTK in English 1555 GMT
25 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 25 (CTK)—The adoption of the law on ending the Czechoslovak Federation made the (Czechs') way to Czech statehood easier, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told CTK following today's vote by the federal parliament.

One of the obstacles has been removed today, but I think it is not the last one, he stated. The adoption of the law is considered an important signal abroad by Klaus. Seeing the Yugoslav crisis and the crisis in the former Soviet Union, foreign countries are usually confused. I believe this day means a calming gesture for all the world, Klaus noted.

Since the June elections the Czech-Slovak relations have been improving markedly, Klaus said. Unfortunately, we needed the (Czechoslovak) state's split for these relations to become equal, he added.

According to Klaus the adoption of the law will make the communication between the coalition and opposition in the Czech parliament easier.

Czechoslovak Premier Jan Strasky (Civic Democratic Party, ODS) voiced his satisfaction with the adoption of the law and its wording. The vote's outcome proves that political culture has been preserved in the federal parliament, Strasky stated.

According to Rudolf Filkus, deputy premier of the Federal Government (Movement For a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS), the adoption of the law on ending the Federation rules out the Federal Government's resignation.

Federal Parliament Deputy Jiri Schneider (ODS) said the law's adoption will enable the constitutional law on the federal property's division, approved November 13, to be applied. The way has thus been unblocked for all the laboriously agreed mechanisms to be put into effect as of January 1, 1993, Schneider said.

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) will strive for the further developments in Czechoslovakia to be as lawful as possible and for democracy to be stabilised in both the Czech lands and Slovakia. Nothing else can be done, said Ivan Fisera, federal parliament deputy from the CSSD, who voted against the law.

Czech Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde (ODS) stated that the vote's result will in no way change the Czech parliament's legislative agenda. The work on the Czech constitution must be intensified, Uhde added.

The Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS) rejects sharing responsibility for the process of Czechoslovak Federation's split, which will have a negative impact on the population, SDSS Deputy Chairman Jaroslav Volf told a press conference in Bratislava today.

This process was started by the June elections' political winners in the Czech and Slovak Republics (ODS and HZDS), with no previous decision having been made by the citizens in a referendum. That is why they (the leading political forces) have to bear full responsibility for it, Volf said.

The current tension, the last steps taken by the Czech parliament and the stubbornness of namely the Czech right, are leading the society into a crisis and chaos, Volf pointed out.

Three SDSS deputies to the federal parliament were among those who voted in favour of the law on ending the Federation today. The law on ending Czechoslovakia is in a certain sense at variance with the Slovak Constitution, Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic told CTK in Bratislava.

He was referring to one of the provisions of the law stating that as of January 1, 1993, legislative power will be passed to legislative bodies of the two republics composed of deputies elected to the Federal Assembly (parliament) and the national parliaments on the territory of the respective republic.

If we accept this, we will have to pass a new constitutional law on establishing a second chamber of the Slovak parliament, which means that the Slovak Constitution will have to be amended, Gasparovic said. The Slovak Constitution, envisaging a unicameral parliament, was signed September 3 and became effective October 1.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar (HZDS) told the Slovak News Agency TA SR that he is glad to see the constitutional law on ending the Czechoslovak Federation adopted by the federal parliament.

Thanks to a certain mechanism of self-preservation in the federal parliament, every time when it approaches the point of self-destruction, it pulls itself up and votes in a reasonable manner, Meciar said. In the nearest future, Slovak political representatives will have to prepare themselves for the new state setup, budgetary and taxation rules and adoption of new social laws.

The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) takes cognizance of the adoption of the law and considers the creation of independent Slovakia an irreversible fact, KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky told CTK today.

As the federal parliament adopted the law on ending Czechoslovakia without a referendum being held, the deputies from our party voted against the draft law, Carnogursky said.

According to him, the KDH was till the last moment advocating the idea of deciding the state's split in a referendum. The Slovak Republic's creation without the Slovak nation having expressed its will in a referendum, poses a threat that, in case of any difficulties, political forces challenging the republic's legitimacy can appear in Slovakia, Carnogursky said.

Pavol Kanis, deputy chairman of the Democratic Left Party (SDL), said the SDL did not like the fact that the opposition parties and mainly citizens were excluded from the process of the law's preparation, but in the end the party has to see the reality as it is.

The SDL, which holds 23 seats in the federal parliament, gave two votes in favour of the law in the federal parliament vote. These two votes expressed the SDL's will to maintain its own political image and at the same time not to ignore the reality, Kanis explained.

Former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel considers the passing of the law on ending the Federation good as it gives the whole process of Czechoslovakia's division a constitutional framework and strengthens its trustworthiness.

The division of the state against the will of its top representative body would have made the position of both successor states very difficult, Havel told CTK.

Jiri Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM), compared the day of the approval of the law on ending the Federation to the worst days in Czechoslovakia's history.

In a statement given to CTK, Svoboda said that the real interests of Czechs and Slovaks have always been tested by history, and that in his view also the date of November 25 will be judged and assessed in the future just as the stands of representatives of individual parties.

Czech Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda of the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) told a press conference that by approving the law the federal parliament merely declared what is politically entirely irreversible.

Slovak Party Leaders View Future Policies

LD2611233692 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There are two main questions that arise for political parties and movements in connection with the compiled declaration of an independent Slovak State. The first one is about positions that will be assumed by deputies from a particular political subject in the forming of an independent Slovak Republic. The second one is the stance that will be taken by a particular political party or movement on the amendment of the Slovak Constitution, the need for which has been generated by the law on the termination of the Federation in connection with the coopting of Federal Assembly deputies into the National Council of the Slovak Republic.

Today, we have made effort to obtain answers to these two questions from representatives of Slovak parliamentary parties. First of all, we are presenting their views on Slovakia's future. Let's start with the Christian Democratic Movement [CDM]. Yesterday, its deputies voted against adopting the law on ending the CSFR. Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the CDM club in the National

Council now speaks about the course of action they are going to take in the forming of an independent Slovak Republic.

[Begin Miklosko recording] Our view is that the era of populism, the era of ungrounded nationalism, the era when it was possible to make promises that are difficult to fulfill ended yesterday or will perhaps end on 1 January at the latest. The era of patriotism is starting. This in our view is an era when we will have to produce a very specific policy and when everyone will be assessed according to one's own contribution and deed. In this respect, I think the era of the Christian Democratic Movement has come. [passage omitted]

We want to join the whole development in a very principled manner, although it is clear to us that we are in opposition and that our joining a coalition is not likely. But we have very specific policies, especially a very specific activity in the international sphere. The evidence of it is our meeting yesterday with the Hungarian parties, where we wish to develop a large-scale activity in direct contacts with the Hungarian political subjects in Hungary, in constructing some kind of bridges, and in the quest for solutions precisely in this sphere. This will be of utmost importance for us from an international view point. [end recording]

[Announcer] Ludovit Cernak, Slovak National Party chairman, conveys his party's position.

[Begin Cernak recording] Yesterday constituted a very important landmark also in the life of Slovak National Party. The main objective we strove for and which was the main point of our policy has been fulfilled. Since our last congress, or assembly, we have been working on our future policy. On 1 January [1993] we want to act in the future Slovak parliament as a modern party, a party which will be able to address very quickly, chiefly through its economic policies, a wide specter of Slovak population. However, we want to focus mainly on small and medium-sized businesses. [passage omitted]

Our future policies will focus on a strong economy, which will be targeted first and foremost at the private sector, which will have a social dimension providing social guarantees for all Slovak citizens, and which will respect traditional democratic values, such as academic freedoms, freedom of speech, and all democratic rights. [end recording]

[Announcer] Erzsebet Dolnikova, secretary of the Coexistence political movement [Egyutteleles] speaks on behalf of the movement.

[Begin Dolnikova recording] [passage omitted] After the rise of a new Slovak Republic our deputies will be working in the NCSR in a way that will further the democratization of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] Milan Ftacnik, chairman of the Party of Democratic Left deputies' club to the NCSR answered

our first question concerning the position of deputies of a particular political subject in the forming of an independent Slovak Republic.

[Begin Ftacnik recording] [passage omitted] We want to and will work toward Slovakia's incorporation into the family of European democratic states, so that it becomes a truly democratic country with a socially-oriented market economy, as its constitution states. To further this objective we are willing and ready to cooperate politically with all parties interested in it. [end recording]

[Announcer] We also obtained a view of the press spokesman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement Jozsef Bardos.

[Begin Bardos recording] [passage omitted] After 1 January, when two independent states develop from one common state, our deputies will continue their work. They will be implementing our election policy and will be striving for a dialogue, so that the problems of the Hungarian national minority will be decided not without us, but with us. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Announcer] We put the above question also to Ivan Laluha, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputies' club in the NCSR.

[Begin Laluha recording] [passage omitted] The action taken by our deputies will be aimed at creating in individual areas of public life legislative and political conditions for a comparatively smooth transition to the situation when Slovakia becomes a democratic republic and when it becomes a subject of international law. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Meciar Changes Position on Oil, Gas Pipelines

LD2611090192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 0300 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has said that Slovakia has changed its position on the division of the international gas and oil pipeline on Czechoslovakia's territory following the Czech Republic's refusal to divide the assets of federal television in a 2:1 ratio. Addressing a public meeting in Kosice, Vladimir Meciar said in this context that more than 70 percent of work on gas and oil pipelines is taking place in Slovakia. According to him, during talks on the division of assets, the Czech side, with regard to gas and oil pipelines, proposed the formation of a supranational company where Slovakia's share of assets would exceed 50 percent.

Deputies Form Moravian-Silesian Assembly

LD2811213092 Prague CTK in English 1843 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Prague, Nov 28 (CTK)—Twenty-four Czech and federal parliaments deputies from Czech opposition parties in Brno, South Moravia, today set up a Moravian-Silesian Assembly as the basis of future provincial self-administration.

Present were ten deputies from the Self-Governing Democracy Movement-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), five from the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), including their chairmen Jan Krycer and Miroslav Sladek respectively, eight deputies from the Left Bloc (LB, which consists of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM, and the Democratic Left), and one from the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

The first regular meeting of the Moravian-Silesian Assembly will be held in Kromeriz, South Moravia, December 6. Jiri Bily from the HSD-SMS told journalists that the assembly wants to submit initiative proposals to both the Czech parliament and the Czech parliament, possibly also third parties.

Dalibor Matulka from the LB said the participants in today's meeting agreed on a common line to be asserted in the preparation of a Czech Constitution which they want to incorporate a federal or provincial state setup for the Czech Republic.

Strasky: New Tax Laws Are Sign of 'Impatience'

AU2611154992 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT
23 Nov 92

[Text] Prague Nov 23 (CTK)—The Czech National Council (parliament) has demonstrated some impatience by adopting laws on taxes, securities and others last week instead of waiting until this week when the federal legislature is scheduled to take up these issues, Czechoslovak Premier Jan Strasky (ODS—Civic Democratic Party) said after his party's caucus meeting today.

If the Czech legislature's action was correct, it would be shown on Tuesday [24 November] when the Federal Assembly will once again vote the law to dissolve Czechoslovak Federation. Then, according to Strasky, it will be patently clear whether the Federal Assembly is still viable, able to form the needed majority.

Strasky also stressed that legislative confusion must be avoided. The Federal Government has always considered Slovakia when it drafted federal laws. The National Council of the Slovak Republic is allowed to select a federal law or adopt its own. The new situation has arisen because the Czech parliament is now simultaneously discussing same draft laws as the federal legislature.

Another topic to be discussed by a joint, federal and Czech Republic, ODS parliamentary caucus tonight is the steps to be taken after the vote on the law dissolving the Federation in the Federal Assembly on Tuesday, Strasky said. If the law fails then the premier must decide whether the Federal Government is still able to force a passage of other, less comprehensive laws in the Federal Assembly. At the moment, Strasky was leaning towards perseverance.

Minister Notes Stable Currency, High Reserves

AU2711194892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 25 Nov 92 p 2

[CSTK report: "A Stable Koruna"]

[Text] Foreign currency reserves in the CSFR reached over 5 billion U.S. dollars this year, while the state debt rose only slightly, said L. Rezabek, counselor to the Czech Republic's minister of economy, at a seminar of German and Czechoslovak firms on 24 November.

The current Czechoslovak balance of payments is slightly in deficit, but surplus is expected at the end of the year. The exchange rate of the koruna is stable, and its current exchange rate against freely convertible currencies is realistic. According to Rezabek, there are no pressures to devalue or revalue the koruna.

Dyba Outlines Changes Planned in Ministry of Economy

AU3011104992 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY
in Czech 24 Nov 92 p 2

[Report by "kh": "Changes at the Ministry of Economy"]

[Text] Conclusive proof of the stabilization of the Czech economy is, according to Czech Economy Minister Karel Dyba, that the volume of industrial output for the month of September was for the first time this year larger than that of the same period of 1991.

At a briefing yesterday, the minister drew attention to the marked growth in the construction industry, the increased volume of freight transportation, and soaring retail sales (up 17 to 20 percent) as a consequence of the growing real income of the population. Because of these statistics Minister Dyba is convinced that although the gross national product will be lower this year than in 1991, next year the Czech economy will definitely show a "certain improvement."

Next to the growth in personal consumption, Dyba considers the dramatic increase in exports resulting from the implementation of the right currency-exchange policy to be the key element of the favorable development. The liberation of credits also had a stimulating effect—that is particularly obvious in the small enterprises. In this context, Dyba criticized banks for the high profit margins they charge that do not correspond to the quality of services provided. To the question of whether the Civic Democratic Party is considering for the post of Czech national bank governor someone other than the current Czechoslovak State Bank Governor Josef Tosovsky, Dyba answered that he has not heard of any change in this position.

Karel Dyba also spoke about the new organizational structure at his ministry. Six sections of the Czech Ministry of the Economy will continue to deal with

economic policies including housing issues, small business affairs, regional policies (that includes resolving the aftermath of the Soviet troops stationed here), and supervision of communications and normalization. At this time, transport is also within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Economy, but a new Czech Ministry of Transport is in the works. The last section in the Economy Ministry deals with the financial issues of the Department including the problems of public investments.

Czech Government Drafts First Independent Budget for 1993

*LD2811130992 Prague CSTK in English 2036 GMT
27 Nov 92*

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The Czech Government today managed to draft the first budget of the independent Czech Republic for 1993, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told journalists during a break in today's Czech Government session.

Kocarnik said the draft budget is balanced. Overall spendings are to grow by about 12 per cent, the inflation rate is expected to be as high as 15-17 per cent, he added.

Kocarnik thinks that the budget gives much money to the health service. But as we want to start privatising it, I think it is fully in harmony with the already passed law on health insurance.

Slovakia To Slow Arms Industry Conversion

*LD2611215292 Prague CTK in English 2047 GMT
26 Nov 92*

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 26 (CTK)—Signing a good international contract on Slovak-made arms exports would considerably help stabilise Slovakia's economy and strengthen social conciliation in areas affected by the conversion of the arms production into civilian one, Ludovit Cernak said today.

Speaking at a press conference, the Slovak minister of economics emphasised that concluding contracts on arms exports is solely within the powers of individual arms producing enterprises and the Slovak Government does not intend to interfere with this process.

According to the Slovak news agency TA SR, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said in Kosic Wednesday [25 November] that Slovakia does not want to get rich on escalation of armament.

We will continue the conversion (of the arms industry into civilian production), but will slow down its pace in order to ease its negative impacts, Meciar said. He added that Slovakia will give guarantees that it will not supply weapons to areas of military tension.

Once a major arms producer, Czechoslovakia launched the programme of the conversion of its arms production into civilian one in 1991, shortly after the fall of the communist regime in the country in late 1989.

The decision has badly affected Slovakia where 80 per cent of Czechoslovakia's arms producing plants are based, its worst impact being growing unemployment.

Friendship Treaties Signed With Croatia, Slovenia*LD2711141292 Budapest MTI in English 1124 GMT 27 Nov 92*

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—In its Thursday [26 November] session, the Hungarian Government decided to conclude friendship and cooperation treaties with Croatia and Slovenia, government spokesperson Judit Juhasz told the press on Friday. The government approved the Hungarian-Croatian agreement on passenger and freight transport by road. Under the agreement concluded by the relevant ministries, Hungarian goods may be delivered to the Adriatic ports under preferential terms, and bilateral and transit freights will be exempt from vehicle tax.

On the Defence Ministry's request, the government decided to convert the Godollo machine factory into a limited company. The factory, the only one which repairs armoured vehicles in Hungary, is undergoing liquidation procedures. The two owners of the new company will be the State Development Institute and the Ministry of Defence.

The government approved the issuing of bonds by the Hungarian Foreign Trade Bank to the value of DM [Deutsche marks] 100 million on the Munich and Frankfurt stock exchanges. This will be the first time that any Hungarian bank other than the National Bank has issued bonds in the international capital market.

The government decided that the original environment of the Nagymaros-Visegrad area, affected by the construction of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros water barrage, should be restored by 1995. Navigation should be redirected to the original route, the temporary bed of the river eliminated, the circular dam pulled down, and some sections of the river-bank recultivated. The project will be financed from central funds and loans, the spokesperson said.

Tougher Controls on Danube To Enforce UN Embargo*LD2711151692 Budapest MTI in English 1402 GMT 27 Nov 92*

[Text] Budapest, November 27 (MTI)—Hungary's Government is about to decree increased controls on Danube navigation with a view to enforcing the UN embargo on Serbia and Montenegro, the National Custom and Excise Office told MTI on Friday [27 November]. Since the sanctions came into force, ships touching Serbian ports, mainly their documents, have been checked more thoroughly by Hungarian customs authorities, but cargos will now be also inspected each time, beginning probably next week.

Ministry Welcomes Latest Brussels Talks on Dam*LD2911145492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 29 Nov 92*

[Text] According to the Foreign Ministry, the latest Brussels talks mean a further step toward the civilized settlement of the Gabčíkovo dispute, although no satisfactory solution was reached because of Czechoslovakia's lack of readiness for agreement. Though Czechoslovakia confirmed that it was ready to accept the competence of The Hague Court in the affair, the details of that, however, could not be worked out and Prague and Bratislava also rejected the dismantling of the C variant. No agreement can be reached on the fate of the Gabčíkovo investment until The Hague decision is made. After all this, Hungary continues to expect that the London and Brussels documents be complied with and the unilateral work on diverting the Danube be suspended, the communique of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry stresses.

CSFR's 'Unwillingness To Compromise'*LD2911190892 Budapest MTI in English 1844 GMT 29 Nov 92*

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry on Sunday [29 November] issued a statement, evaluating the talks Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the European Community held in Brussels on November 27. It notes with satisfaction that the Slovak side accepts the jurisdiction of the Hague-based International Court in the settlement of the debate. The statement confirms that Hungary demands the restoration of the navigational route of the Danube and the environment to their original state, and the dismantling of the Gabčíkovo power plant.

Full text of the statement:

"In the evaluation of the Foreign Ministry, the trilateral talks in Brussels marked another step towards a European, civilized settlement of the issue.

"It was the most important result of the talks that the Czech and Slovak government confirmed its readiness to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court with regard to the comprehensive and final settlement of the debate. The foreign minister notes this intention of the Czech and Slovak side with satisfaction and qualifies it as an advance. It hopes that this commitment will be confirmed by action in the expert talks to be held in the coming days.

"Considering the conclusions of expert examinations, it became clear for all parties to the talks that the Danube had been dammed in an irresponsible and unprofessional way, the works of the C-option were still reversible, and, from the technical point of view, the original state could be restored. In the course of talks, the Hungarian delegation insisted on its demand for dismantling the facilities of the C-option. It will continue to insist on it even in the future. It must be noted with

regret that the sides failed to agree on either the dismantling of the project or a temporary solution. The cause of this lies in the Czech and Slovak delegation's unwillingness to compromise. The temporary solution to be elaborated in the next round of talks should in all aspects comply with the London Agreement, with special regard to the need for letting 95 per cent of the discharge of the Danube to Hungary and banning the operation of the turbines.

"The Foreign Ministry highly appreciates the efforts of the European Commission aimed at a settlement under the above framework, and considers the further effective contribution of the European Community as a politically indispensable precondition of a final and comprehensive settlement.

"The Hungarian government expects the Czech and Slovak side to fully meet its obligations assumed in the London Agreement and the Brussels Protocol, suspend the works of C-option, and guarantee an appropriate political basis for the two countries to file a joint petition to The Hague International Court."

Gabcikovo Project Flood Gates Damaged

LD261112592 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] International public opinion cannot accept that a single country can make a decision concerning an enormous construction project affecting the largest river in Europe, U.S. Democratic Party Congressman Tom Lantos has said. Incidentally, he will inform President-elect Clinton about the Gabcikovo situation on his return.

Due to heavy rains, the Danube floods peaked at Bratislava today, and the situation at Gabcikovo is still worrying. The flood wave has caused tremendous damage to the Slovaks, which is proved by the latest news stating that in the vicinity of Rajka, Hungarian water board employees fished out another 24-meters-long steel gate weighing 25 tonnes. According to news reports, another similar object was found on the Slovak side. Our reporters arrived at the scene late afternoon.

[Reporter] The Danube continues to destroy the flood gate at Cunovo: Today, waves swept away two more enormous lock gates and a metal object was washed into the shipping canal. The lock is unusable. The gates are wide open; shipping has stopped; and the Danube surges through the entire width of the tailwater canal. There are rumors about the evacuation of three villages, but this has not been confirmed.

According to waterboard experts, damage is small on the Hungarian side, but it will cost a lot for the Slovaks to rebuild the flood gate at Cunovo. They can only work on dry land, and in order to do this they will have to build a huge circular dam.

Minority Rights Statement Signed With Russia

AU2511121392 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 19 Nov 92 p 4

["Text" of "Statement on the Principles of Cooperation Between the Hungarian Republic and the Russian Federation in the Area of Guaranteeing the Rights for National or Ethnic, Religious, and Language Minorities" signed in Budapest on 11 November]

[Text] The Hungarian Republic and the Russian Federation, emphasizing that their common goal is to establish a democratic system that ensures full human rights and the basic rights of freedom for all citizens in a constitutional state, free expression of their lawful interests and endeavors, political pluralism, social tolerance, equality before the law, and legal protection both for groups and for individuals; starting from the 6 December 1991 Agreement on Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between the Hungarian Republic and the Russian Soviet Federative Republic; recognizing that the promotion of respect for and adherence to the rights of national or ethnic, religious, and language minorities (hereafter minorities) as generally recognized components of human rights is an important factor of peace, justice, security, stability, and democracy, and is necessary for the development of friendly relations and cooperation between states; expressing our concern over the intolerant and discriminatory manifestations in several countries, that the number of violent acts against the minorities living on their territory, among other things, is on the increase, and over the facts of ethnic cleansing; fully supporting the activities of international forums and non-governmental organizations in the given area, paying special attention to the recent results of these activities, namely the statement drawn up under the aegis of the United Nations Organization on the rights of national or ethnic, religious, and language minorities, the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages opened for signing by the Council of Europe, and the CSCE's decision to set up the institution of High Commission for National Minorities; considering that the drafting and codification of international standards in the sphere of minority rights requires further development, declare that, in the area of guaranteeing the rights of minorities, they start from the following principles:

1. The Parties commit themselves to consistently ensure that the basic rights and human rights of minorities can be practiced both on an individual basis and together with other members of their group, including equality before the law and not allowing discrimination against them.

2. The Parties undertake to improve the existing practice in the given area on the basis of the available international legal documents, and they examine the possibility of drawing up new international standards.

3. To this end, the Parties work together on the existing international forums to interpret the existing legal documents in a unified way, and to perfect and make as effective use as possible of existing institutions and mechanisms and the ones being formed.

4. Starting from the premise that social peace and individual freedom, and the need to ensure all aspects of these, are universal values, the Parties consider the establishment of favorable conditions for the preservation and development of the ethnic, cultural, language, and religious identity of minorities as their most important task. These measures must serve the interests of the entire society and cannot infringe on the rights of other citizens.

5. The Parties respect the right of every individual to freely decide which ethnic group he belongs to, to make use of the rights resulting from this identity, and they declare that this decision cannot have any negative consequences for the given individuals. In this respect, the Parties recognize that, in a democratic society, the above determination of one's affiliation—both on an individual basis and in a community with other members of their group—includes such possibilities as elected organizations dealing with the affairs of minorities, the establishment of local and autonomous administrative bodies, autonomies on a regional basis, and other forms of the self-administration of minorities, and the other ways of expressing their legitimate interests within the framework of a democratic constitutional state.

6. The Parties will provide legal or other necessary protection for the minorities against any such actions—including those of a propagandistic nature—as endanger the assertion of their rights or their identity, provoke violence, help to incite violence or discrimination on a basis of ethnic belonging, or anything that justifies such actions.

7. The Parties deem it necessary to ensure that individuals belonging to a minority can freely exercise their right to effectively participate in social life both as individuals and together with others in groups, in other words, through establishing independent social organizations and unions to protect and express their legitimate interests, including participation in all affairs linked to the preservation and development of their identity, to making and implementing decisions that affect their place of living.

8. The Parties declare the need to assert the principle that the national institutions that deal with the affairs of the ethnic and national minorities should be established in a democratic way, with the participation of all ethnic minorities, including the social organizations and unions that express their views, taking their interests into consideration.

9. The Parties find administrative, economic, or other measures unacceptable that are directed toward the

forceful assimilation of minorities, or to changing the ethnic structure in districts within the areas populated by the minorities.

10. The Parties deem it expedient to take the necessary legal, public administration, and other measures to ensure that the minorities have the possibility to freely exercise their right—both in writing and orally—to use their mother tongue equally in personal and social life, including the use of their Christian and family names.

This right does not exclude the obligation to learn the state language or languages.

11. The Parties respect the right of minorities to preserve and develop their cultural identity, including the preservation and maintenance of their particular cultural heritage.

12. The Parties respect the rights of believers who belong to minorities to practice their religion, including obtaining, possessing, producing, and using devotional materials in their mother tongue that are necessary for this activity, which includes education in the mother tongue.

13. The Parties respect the rights of minorities to defend and represent their basic interests, to have free access to information in their mother tongue, including the possibility to disseminate and exchange this information and to have state funds to do this when possible.

14. The Parties will help the individuals belonging to a minority in every possible way to establish and maintain contacts with each other, without any discrimination, in their own state and with the citizens of other states with whom they share ethnic or national origin, cultural heritage, or religion.

15. The Parties confirm their intent to help the international legal codification of the rights of minorities on a bilateral, regional, and universal level. They declare their willingness to support such efforts within the framework of the United Nations Organization and the CSCE.

16. In the interest of applying the above principles and to achieve the appropriate goals, the Parties coordinate their participation in various international forums endeavoring to create as broad consensus as possible and to apply peaceful measures to resolve conflicts.

17. No part of this statement can be interpreted in a way as authorization to display any activity or act that is contrary to the goals and principles of the United Nations Charter, other international legal obligations, or the contents of the Helsinki Final Document, including the principle of the territorial integrity of states.

This was prepared in Budapest on 11 November 1992 in two copies, each in the Hungarian and Russian languages.

Romania Seeks Hungary's Help in Council of Europe

LD2911154792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] According to the new Romanian foreign minister the time has come for Hungary to prove with some kind of gesture that it is interested in improving bilateral relations. Teodor Melescanu stressed that he would much appreciate it if Budapest took a stand strongly, even threateningly, for Romania's membership in the Council of Europe. Melescanu stressed that it would also be favorable for Hungary if relations of the two states improved, since it is unnatural that relations are limited simply to visits and technical cooperation.

Jezensky: Romanian Reaction 'Hard To Justify'

AU2511121992 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 19 Nov 92 p 4

["Text" of statement by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky: "Rejection Is Inexplicable"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, recently visited Budapest. During his visit, an agreement was signed that guarantees the rights of national minorities. The agreement has serious historical and political antecedents. It was warmly welcomed by international diplomacy. The only exception was Romania where almost hysterical outbursts followed the Hungarian-Russian agreement.

The press and statements of responsible politicians talked about a Budapest-Moscow axis, the threats to Romania's territorial integrity, and Hungarian revanchism. This exceptionally unsympathetic attitude was made worse by the article in DIMINEATA—this newspaper is close to the president (editor's note)—according to which Romania's Western orientation has been unsuccessful, and which says, among other things, that all the empty talk about the EC, NATO, and European integration has to be discarded. To avoid misunderstandings, we publish the text of the Hungarian-Russian agreement on the protection of national minorities, and we asked Foreign Minister Jeszenszky to comment on the developments in a statement.

"The agreement between Hungary and Russia on the protection of national minorities has attracted considerable international attention. Generally, this document is viewed positively by the world. Romania is the only unfortunate exception to this. Our eastern neighbor reacted to this statement in a rather unfortunate way. Especially the fifth point evoked a heated reaction. The main reason for this may be the fact that it includes autonomy on a regional basis and the possibility of self-administration by national minorities. However, these principles already formally existed in Romania before because there was a Hungarian autonomous region in Transylvania before the Ceausescu era. I should add here that autonomous regions of national

minorities also exist on the territory of the current Russian Federation. Therefore, this point of the agreement does not contain fundamentally new ideas. The declaration of this principle and its registration in a document was noticeably not to the liking of everyone in Romania."

Not the First Agreement

"At the same time, I must note that this Hungarian-Russian agreement was not the first one to produce such reactions in Romania. The article that called for a revival of the Little Entente appeared precisely on 4 November in the newspaper mentioned in the introduction. In this article, Hungary was described in a way unparalleled in European journalism.

"I would like to emphasize that the Hungarian-Russian agreement on the protection of national minorities is not the first such document made between Hungary and its neighboring countries. On 31 May 1991, we published a similar statement with Ukraine on national minority rights. Croatia joined it later, and the Hungarian-Slovene minority protection agreement was made in the same spirit but it went further than the previously mentioned statement. These statements and agreements register principles that are in complete accordance with the vanguard of European thought and general human rights. These principles accept the existence of an ethnic group and see the people belonging to a national minority as part of a community.

"These documents promise protection to the minorities against all such incitement as threatens the given ethnic group. This implies the rejection of impatience, hatred, anti-Semitism, and anti-Hungarianism. The fact that they lay down the right to be involved in public affairs in an organized way is a very important part of these documents. This confirms the right of the given national minority to maintain links with its mother nation. The above documents also prohibit the artificial and forceful changing of the ethnic structure of the population."

The Rights of National Minorities

"The fact that they include the right to education in the mother tongue is an important part of the documents. These statements include the development of relations between the national minorities and the majority nation and that they should become familiar with each other's culture. In both the Russian and the Ukrainian documents, the signatory sides confirm their intention to help the international codification of the rights of national minorities on bilateral, regional, and universal levels.

"All this is in accordance with Hungarian foreign political efforts. I must say that it is in full agreement with international documents like the ones accepted or being prepared by the United Nations Organization or the CSCE. I should add here that the agreement with Slovenia guarantees signs in two languages in places populated by national minorities. To sum it up, it can be concluded that these agreements are not only not

directed against a third country but they actually introduce such forward looking elements in bilateral relations as have a positive influence on interstate relations. These documents extend the rights of national minorities and guarantee existing ones. It is very strange that this should create antagonistic feelings in anyone. Rather, in my view, these are examples to be followed. If we find that these statements worry anyone then we kindly recommend that they join these documents on the protection of national minorities.

"We are ready to sign a similar statement or agreement with any neighboring countries or states interested in the national minority issue. In fact, Hungarian diplomacy has already called upon the states that showed an interest, to do this. Naturally, rather than by these agreements and statements, the detailed regulation of Hungary's national minorities will be done by the Hungarian law on national minorities, but the basic principles were laid down in these international agreements. In my view, these principles helped the early completion of a Hungarian law on national minorities and also contributed to the Regional and National Minority Language Charter that was recently signed in Strasbourg.

"The national minority protection documents between Hungary and its neighbors have antecedents extending into the past. I must quote as an example that the Romanian national assembly's declaration in Gyulafehérvár [Alba Julia] 1918 promised self-government and self-administration to the Hungarians. To quote some more recent examples, on 16 June 1989, at the reburial of [1956 Prime Minister] Imre Nagy, prominent Romanian intellectuals—mainly those living in the West—and the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] published a statement that included the word Erdely [Transylvania], and the principle that the right to autonomous political representation and to cultural autonomy should be ensured for all national minorities. This will be enacted by the new democracies."

Existing Antecedents

"This was successfully done with a number of our neighbors. I could also quote the MDF's 1989 Christmas declaration in which, along with other democratic movements, we spoke out for self-organization, local self-government, and autonomous organization.

"Therefore, the Hungarian-Russian agreement on the protection of national minority rights has serious antecedents and for this very reason, it is hard to justify that such vehement and negative Romanian reactions were produced by this document."

Csurka Causes Conflict in Democratic Forum Board

AU2611110592 Budapest MTI in English 1011 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Budapest, 25 November (MTI)—The presidium of Hungary's leading government party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), is holding a session on Wednesday [25 November]. Many expect to see whether Deputy Chairman Istvan Csurka resigns from his post or not, NEPSZABADSAG says in its Wednesday edition.

During a party session last Wednesday [18 November], Speaker of Parliament Gyorgy Szabados, a reputed member of the MDF, announced his intention to suspend his presidium membership unless Csurka leaves the body. His initiative was joined by several others.

The speaker on Tuesday had no wish to talk to NEPSZABADSAG about the matter. MDF Presidium Member and Parliamentary Deputy Count Istvan Bethlen said it would be desirable if the unfortunate fight, waged not among members but in the presidium, came to an end. Bethlen deemed it important that critics of the government could also be members of the MDF without feeling they have to choose between Csurka or the prime minister.

"I shall undertake, and carry out to the best of my ability, whatever function the MDF nationwide meeting assigns to me," Csurka told MTI on Tuesday in response to rumors that he is about to resign as deputy chairman. He added he would not abuse anybody's confidence, and would fulfill his elected function until the MDF nationwide meeting.

Csurka denied suggestions that he wanted to change the Hungarian Road Foundation which he set up in October into a party.

Asked about the main ways in which the MDF should restructure itself in his opinion, he said the answer was in his widely known study (published in MAGYAR FORUM on August 20, 1992), the like of which he was going to repeat many more times in future.

Csurka Will Not Resign

AU2711143492 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 24 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Budapest, 24 Nov (MTI)—Rumours that HDF (Hungarian Democratic Forum) Vice-President Istvan Csurka is about to resign from his post led him to tell MTI "I shall undertake, and carry out to the best of my ability, whatever function the HDF National Assembly assigns to me." Csurka added he would not misuse anybody's confidence, and would fulfill his elected function until the HDF national meeting on January 22-24, 1993. [passage omitted]

Walesa, French Army Chief on European Security

LD2511223392 Warsaw PAP in English 1734 GMT 25 Nov 92

Warsaw, Nov. 25—Chief of the General Staff of the French Armed Forces Admiral Jacques Lanxade on Wednesday [25 November] ended his three-day visit to Poland with a meeting with President Lech Walesa.

During the meeting Walesa said that Europe is not prepared for threats and challenges of the present times and stressed the need for new mechanisms of cooperation to be built so as to prevent tragedies such as the Yugoslav conflict. The Polish president believed that the European defence policy should eliminate what is accidental and might threaten European security.

Earlier in the day Lanxade met with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and head of the National Security Office Jerzy Milewski. Milewski acquainted the French guest with new guidelines of the Polish defence doctrine adopted this year.

Minister Holds News Conference on NATO Talks

LD2511213692 Warsaw PAP in English 1644 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 25—Minister of National Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz said on Wednesday [25 November] that "NATO member states would not be indifferent if Poland's sovereignty or independence was threatened."

Onyszkiewicz told a press conference that he did not discuss a pessimistic scenario during his recent visits to the United States and Great Britain as "it is very unlikely to materialize." Poland is perceived as a country belonging to a group of democratic states and bilateral relations between the states in this group are based on the feeling of solidarity, he added.

Asked about the transfer of the U.S. military technology to Poland, Onyszkiewicz said that Poland must first build a system of safeguards to prevent its outflow. According to Onyszkiewicz, the prospect of Poland's joining the Western European Union and NATO met with full understanding of both the American and the British sides.

Spokesman: Czechs, Slovaks To Be Viewed Equally

LD2811123692 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw Nov 27 (CTK)—Poland will view both (successor states to Czechoslovakia) as equal partners, and will recognise them and establish diplomatic ties with them at ambassadorial level as soon as possible, the spokesman for Polish Premier Hanna Suchocka told CTK today. The spokesman, Zdobyslaw Milewski, said that Premier Suchocka and the Polish Government view the decision to split the (Czechoslovak) Federation as an expression of the will of the citizens of Czechoslovakia

which Poland fully respects. Milewski stressed that Poland wishes that the very good relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia over the past three years continue in its relations with the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Political Leader Warns of 'Anti-Catholic Revolt'

AU2511211492 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 20 Nov 92 p 3

[Interview with Jan Lopuszanski, chairman of the Christian-National Union Supreme Council, by Zbigniew Lipinski; place and date not given: "The Battle for People's Hearts and Minds"]

[Text] [Lipinski] The left has recently stepped up its ideological offensive. It has taken the form of attacks on the church, episcopate, Holy Father, pro-abortion propaganda, questioning the place of religion in schools....

[Lopuszanski] It is undoubtedly another stage in the battle to control people's hearts and minds. It is the battle that determines the course of history. The current campaign is only and solely a part of that battle against God and the presence of God in human consciousness that is going on in the world. Poland has become the target of a particularly fierce attack because we are a bastion of Catholicism on a global scale.

Attempts are being made in Poland to apply an approach that has already been tested in England, Mexico, and France. In my opinion, Poland will be confronted with a serious attempt at staging an anti-Catholic revolt with all the consequences that that entails. I would like to remind you that only in the case of Spain were Christians able to defend themselves against an atheist onslaught in the 1930's. So, the question that arises is whether Poland will follow the triumphant path of Spain or whether it will fail the way France did.

[Lipinski] You mentioned a general battle being waged against religion. Recently, a widely advertised book called "The Satanic Verses" appeared in Poland. What is your view on the decision to publish it.

[Lopuszanski] I do not see a problem solely in terms of wishing to cash in on sensationalism. We are demanding that the feelings of Catholics should not be offended, and now a publication has appeared that offends the feelings of the adherents of Islam, and that is just as scandalous as those publications that offend the feelings of Catholics. Although in terms of religion, there is a great distance separating me from the Muslims, I believe that they have the same right to have the dignity of their religion respected as the adherents of other faiths. This type of decision to publish contradicts that principle of tolerance that certain people so frequently espouse.

[Lipinski] Apart from its apostolic and pastoral mission, the Polish church has played a significant patriotic and social role. Does this aspect of church activity now have to be redefined as the left maintains?

[Lopuszanski] I do not think so. Under communism, the church performed one additional role—it created a certain area of freedom. It was freedom not only for Catholics, but also for people who did not and do not have anything in common with the faith. Today, many of them are attacking the church, and it is they who are demanding a redefinition of the church's involvement.

The church's task does not change—it is to lead people to salvation. The church has a right and even a duty to assess in terms of ethical norms any political, social, or economic measures that are proposed. That is a function that the church cannot give up.

[Lipinski] Wieslaw Chrzanowski set out the Christian-National Union's conditions for the party's participation in the coalition government. He mentioned the place of religion in schools, rights of the church, and a law on protecting the unborn child. Let us assume that one of those conditions will not be met. Will the Christian-National Union then leave the coalition?

[Lopuszanski] The present coalition was formed from parties with opposing programs because Poland needed a government of some kind. There was no other way out. I would be very pleased if possibilities arose for organizing a new government structure. I do not see that being possible for the time being. As it is the politician's task to protect the Polish state, we will in the short term follow the path that we chose.

In forming the cabinet, we adopted the principle that the government should be nonideological. We are settling issues of an ideological kind in parliament. However, there is a danger that some of them will be raised within the government. The government would have to collapse then. That is the reason for Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's sharp reaction regarding her party colleagues. At the Poznan congress, she showed very clearly that ill-considered actions on the part of Democratic Union members may cause the breakup of this government.

Polish Convention Opposes Referendum on Abortion

LD2611163092 Warsaw PAP in English 1340 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 26—There are no rational reasons to question the stability of the government coalition rallied around Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, the Polish Convention parliamentary club declared in a statement published on Thursday [26 November].

The Polish Convention, which groups the forum of the Democratic Right (FDP), the Party of Christian Democrats (PCh-D), the Peasant Christian Alliance (SLCh) and a number of independent deputies, said further in its statement that coalition forces had agreed the dispute over the legal protection of the unborn child would be resolved during parliamentary debates and this principle should be observed. The Polish Convention will vote

against a referendum on abortion but the existing differences of opinions on the issue should not affect the functioning of the government, the statement stressed. The Polish Convention also declared it would not accept any reconstruction of the government with the participation of post-Communist groupings. We are of the opinion that the government coalition having common solidarity roots should work until the end of the present parliament's term of office, it said.

Party Leaders Stress Stability of Coalition

LD2811094592 Warsaw PAP in English 1554 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—Top representatives of two leading coalition parties confirmed the stability of the government coalition during a joint press conference on Friday [27 November].

Leader of the Democratic Union (UD) Parliamentary Caucus Bronislaw Geremek stressed that "the government coalition continues to exist, is strong and is the base for the functioning of the government."

Geremek added that the question of the antiabortion law is a dramatic problem faced by Polish society and parliament but does not pose a threat to the existence of the coalition.

Chairman of the Christian National Union (ZChN) parliamentary floor group Stefan Niesiolowski said that from the very beginning the coalition has been set up on the foundations of pragmatism. In its work it chiefly focuses on economic affairs although it is obvious that it also stabilizes the political situation in Poland, said the deputy.

Niesiolowski stressed that it is unthinkable to bring this country out of recession in an atmosphere of continuing government crises, election hysteria and destabilization. "We are aware of differences on many issues among coalition parties," said Niesiolowski but added that there are no new elements which could change the starting point when the coalition was formed. "I cannot imagine the functioning of the government without the UD's support," declared Niesiolowski. Geremek made a similar statement with respect to the ZChN.

Niesiolowski also told the conference that the coalition adopted a rule that it will vote against all motions calling for the dismissal of ministers. Such motions are treated by the coalition as attempts to dismantle the government and the coalition stemming from the tactic of opposition parties aimed at staging early elections, said the ZChN deputy.

Asked by reporters on a possibility of substituting the Peasant Agreement (PL), one of the coalition parties, with the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), Niesiolowski replied that "it seems that such speculations and rumours are groundless," while Deputy Geremek on his part said that "at this time these are only rumours and speculations."

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka on Friday met with PSL leader, former short-lived Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak to, as the prime minister said after the meeting, "discuss future relations between the coalition and a party belonging to constructive opposition." Pawlak said that the meeting was devoted to the functioning of the state and parliament and "our mutual relations." Zdobyslaw Milewski, PM [prime minister's] press secretary, declined to give any details on the meeting.

Peasant Party Congress Elects Pawlak Chairman

AU2611154492 Warsaw PAP in English 1953 GMT 22 Nov

[Text] Warsaw, 22 November: Former Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak was reelected Sunday [22 November] chairman of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) at the end of its two-day congress held in Warsaw. Also Deputy Sejm (lower house) Speaker Jozef Zych was reelected chairman of the PSL Main Council.

The congress adopted a programmatic resolution in which it appeals to all political forces for joint work on a long-range strategy of Poland's development to which modern mechanisms of the state social and economic policy should be subordinated. In the resolution the PSL proposes to link this strategy to the concept of the so-called third way gradually emerging in the world.

The resolution firmly rejects "the individual's subordination to free market mechanisms as well as the view that unemployment is a factor increasing production effects" and stresses the need to "subordinate the state policy to common good." According to the PSL the value of human work should be placed before capital and principles of justice and social accord should be added to such generally recognized social values as freedom, democracy and equality before law.

The PSL's programmatic document also points to the necessity of halting the liquidation of large economic organizations and states that an antirecession programme should be given priority in reforms aimed at economic recovery.

Elimination of errors and distortions in the to-date farming policy should start with real, and not merely declared, recognition of the fact that agriculture is a strategically important area of the Polish economy, the document also states.

In an address closing the congress debates PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak called on the delegates to consolidate the party's position in rural communes and provinces. "The time will also come for us to govern the country," he said.

Representatives of many Polish parties, both those supporting and those remaining in opposition to the present government, attended the PSL congress as guests, among them leaders or members of the leadership of the Democratic Union, the Union of Labour, the Christian

National Union, the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland and the Peasant-Christian Party.

Pawlak Discusses Congress, Aims

AU3011095292 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Waldemar Pawlak, leader of the Polish Peasant Party, by Halina Dowda; place and date not given: "The Peasant at Home"]

[Text] [Dowda] It has not proved possible to push the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] onto the political sidelines following the failed mission to form a government. It has not abandoned its role as the largest party, which the congress was intended to affirm. The PSL is being presented as a party that is looking for a way out of the chaos that is threatening Poland. What has dictated the change in the traditional peasant party slogan of "They feed and defend"?

[Pawlak] They farm, feed, and defend—only that conveys the full sense of our activity. There was a time when peasants provided food. There was a time when peasants provided food and defended the country, when Poland's independence and sovereignty had to be defended with blood and lives. Now is the time to manage because today's work and its fruit will decide about our sovereignty and independence.

It is time to manage farms, townships, and the state. The peasant, like every citizen of a free country, does not want his role to be confined to defense and work. The peasant wants to be the boss where he is at home. Someone else manages on a national level, and that is why we want to manage within our community, we have to decide about all the matters that affect us. The government has turned the voivodes into its functionaries, and so the interests of local communities have to be defended in the local government sejmik. These are institutions in which many parties are represented and that competition provides a chance for the PSL.

[Dowda] A chance to strengthen the party or to win over the rural electorate in elections?

[Pawlak] Management should also be understood as participating in the public life of every community. That is how I understand the functioning of a modern-day political party. There is no other way of "translating" programs into practice that is as effective. If the PSL grows stronger and gains more prestige as a result, that is what we want to see. Day-to-day work is not always directly linked to politics, but it always serves a given community. Local and parliamentary elections will be a summing up of the popularity and standing of our people.

[Dowda] Judging by the results of last year's elections, the PSL is in a strong position in two-thirds of all townships.

[Pawlak] That is the basis for PSL activity at the national level. I maintain that the country has to be rescued from below, from the townships and the voivodships. Whether it will be rescued depends on us.

[Dowda] The congress saw the PSL adopt a very receptive attitude toward various political groupings. Was this a way of sounding out opinion before trying to form an opposition bloc composed of parliamentary groupings? However, at the same time, there is repeated speculation about whether the party will join the coalition government.

[Pawlak] It is press speculation and nothing more than that. What is new about today's situation is that "following our 33 days" [period during which Pawlak sought to form a government], the political setup has become more obvious. Previously, it was hard to make out who stood for what. Now we know that some parties have left behind their election campaign slogans and programs. They put aside moral values to have at least a moment of participating in government.

We made a difficult and risky attempt to overcome the prejudices of the past. We failed. The dispute was not about posts, or even about people, but about principles. We did not want to be subordinates, but partners.

We do not see our participation in politics as being about the pursuit of power for power's sake, but as about power for society, to improve the situation of the state and the countryside. That is why compromise has very strictly defined limits for us. We can be ready to reach a compromise as long as we can look voters in the eye. I think that PSL has a moral right to act that way.

Peasant Agreement Will Not Abandon Ruling Coalition

LD2811163692 Warsaw PAP in English 2146 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka told newsmen after a Friday [27 November] meeting with the Peasant Agreement (PL) that "the ruling coalition is not threatened with a split on part of this grouping." "We were talking about the state and the responsibility for the state and the Peasant Agreement is a party of such a responsibility," Hanna Suchocka said.

Chairman of the PL parliamentary floor group Feliks Klimczak explained that his previous statements on the position of PL in the coalition focused on threats endangering the implementation of the agricultural programme. "However, the prime minister declared that the government would make every effort possible to implement fully this programme.

PPS President Elected; Party Line Defined

LD2911193292 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 29—The 26th congress of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) wound up in Warsaw on

Sunday [29 November] having elected its Central Executive Committee, its President Jan Mulak, and adopted a political resolution defining the party line.

The resolution stresses that the party does not agree with the role assigned to the Polish Left and consisting in distribution of what is produced by business-minded liberals. PPS wants to "replace the present rightist system of government with a leftist, worker-oriented economic alternative," reads the document. It also appeals to the Polish Left for more political initiative. The document says that the party wants to "socialize" the state. It proposes to replace the Senate with a self-government chamber, reject ideological domination of the state over its citizens, change the tax system, halt privatization initiated at high administrative levels, and build a market economy through the expansion of the public sector.

PPS says it belongs neither to the victorious "Solidarity" camp nor to the post-communists but represents the Worker Movement which was pushed out to a marginal position after the round table, the document reads.

UD's Mazowiecki Calls For Preserving Identity

LD2911144892 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] The Council of the Democratic Union [UD] has been meeting in Warsaw to discuss preparations for a party congress. It will probably be held 24-25 April next year as this is a statutory deadline. The congress would then be held two years after the one at which the unification of the Democratic Right faction, ROAD, and the Democratic Union took place.

While adopting a stand on an antiabortion law and a referendum on the issue UD leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki said the Union's identity is determined by the fact that it is a pluralistic party, respecting the differing views of its members, and allowing them to adopt a stand in accordance with their own convictions. That is why, Tadeusz Mazowiecki stressed, the UD as a party does not adopt a stand on the antiabortion law and other issues which depend on the individual outlook on life of its members. It is of utmost importance, Mazowiecki said, that the UD goes through the present difficult stage preserving its identity. It would be a cause for concern for Poland if the UD were not be able to save this formula.

Union of Labor Spokesman on Privatization

PM2511141492 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 17 Nov 92 p 4

[Interview with Dr. Ryszard Bugaj, leader of the Union of Labor Parliamentary Floor Group, by correspondent Anna Wolk; place and date not given]

[Text] [Wolk] You demanded that Minister Lewandowski present to the public a financial account of the costs of the universal privatization scheme. Why did you do this?

[Bugaj] I did it for two reasons. First, the Sejm code of rules and procedures specifies quite distinctly that any draft law submitted to parliament that is expected to entail financial consequences must set out these consequences in clear detail. Second, because I have reason to suspect that universal privatization will lead to a further—and very serious—deterioration of the condition of the state budget. Of course, it is possible to imagine and devise changes in the tax system that would neutralize the negative financial consequences of privatization.

[Wolk] What would such changes entail?

[Bugaj] To put it in most general terms, it would be necessary to tax the private sector at a level not lower than that which is contributed by the state sector.

[Wolk] But let us for the moment assume that the tax legislation will not change: Well, then, did you actually know the answer when you were asking the question about the financial consequences of the Universal Privatization Program?

[Bugaj] Generally speaking, private enterprises are burdened with much lower tax liabilities than enterprises in the state sector. Therefore, shifting the economy from the state sector to the private sector usually results in a move from the sphere of higher tax revenues to the sphere of lower tax revenues. In this case we are talking about major enterprises, and this automatically brings into the picture several additional elements which, as it seems, must cause a decrease in budget revenues, at least over a short period of time.

[Wolk] What do you mean?

[Bugaj] In 1991 our budget revenues from dividends and the "popiwek tax" [tax on above-the-plan growth of wages] came up to nearly 40 trillion zlotys [Z]. If we take into account this year's price rises, then the 1992 revenues should total some Z60 trillion. How large a proportion of these revenues can come from some 600 large and economically sound enterprises? The exact list of the 600 enterprises has not yet been given, but I would already risk estimating their tax revenues at about Z15 trillion.

[Wolk] So the state budget stands to lose some 5 percent of its revenues as a result of privatization. Perhaps the government believes that the advantages of the privatization program are worth paying such a price for?

[Bugaj] This is not the only price to pay. First, the cost of the implementation of the privatization program itself. Second, the cost of setting up new investment funds. If we employ foreign managers, they will have to be paid very high salaries.

[Wolk] What about the expected profits stemming from universal privatization?

[Bugaj] Here Minister Lewandowski listed revenues from the sale of share certificates that he estimated at an expected Z3 trillion to Z6 trillion. I think he is right to see this as a source of revenues, but his estimate is incorrect in that it assumes that all the shares will be sold in the so-called commercial privatization scheme and will thus bring in the expected amounts of money. However, everything seems to indicate that the universal privatization scheme will generate its own, secondary market in share certificates, in which title deeds to share packets will be bought at much lower prices. If this happens, then no one in their right mind will buy the officially priced shares in the enterprises belonging to the "traditional" privatization scheme. So it may well be that Minister Lewandowski will indeed collect the Z3 trillion to Z6 trillion from the universal privatization, but then he will get next to nothing from the commercial privatization scheme. In addition, the Ministry estimates reflect the optimistic assumption that all the privatized enterprises will immediately "rise and shine": production will increase, enterprises will consequently pay a higher turnover tax, and the profitability index will rise...

[Wolk] And do you not believe these prognoses?

[Bugaj] A while ago I conducted a survey in which I tried to establish whether economic indices are markedly better in the enterprises that had already been privatized. My investigation showed that there was no indication of any such improvement...

[Wolk] What you have told us suggests that your Sejm enquiry about the costs of the privatization scheme caused no reaction in the Sejm and received no reply at all. Nevertheless, the Sejm decided to pass on the draft project to the relevant commission and it is to be expected that it will eventually approve it, once certain insignificant adjustments to the privatization program are made. All this will take place even though no one really knows the answer to the question "How much do we stand to lose through the privatization program?"

[Bugaj] I would not take such a pessimistic outlook. After all, there is still the possibility that many things can be clarified and corrected while the project is being considered by the relevant Sejm commission.

Iliescu Interviewed by French Daily

PM3011110192 Paris LE FIGARO in French 24 Nov 92
p 3

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Jean-Jacques Revel in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] [Revel] What is the purpose of your visit to France?

[Iliescu] I hope that following the Romanian elections French businessmen feel reassured about my country's stability. Specifically, in order to boost trade, I will ask the French authorities to promptly convene the Franco-Romanian joint committee.

[Revel] When you presented your new government you spoke of the need for an "anticrisis program." What is the situation in Romania three years after its revolution?

[Iliescu] There is a twofold crisis. First, in the transition to a market economy. For almost 20 years the Ceausescu regime stifled all attempts at reform. Here, unlike what happened in Poland or Hungary, it took an explosion on the people's part in December 1989 to eliminate totalitarianism. Now the change is still going on in a tougher environment than elsewhere. Then there are the external constraints. The disappearance of CEMA, the Yugoslav crisis, the global slowing of economic activity.... All this deprives us of our traditions outlets at the worst possible time.

[Revel] What are your priorities?

[Iliescu] To curb the decline. Industrial output has plummeted. Now Romania is obliged to import food products, which is unprecedented. Unemployment will exceed 10 percent by the end of the year. Inflation is accelerating.

[Revel] You also risk a political crisis. There is no longer a clear majority in parliament. Your party, the Democratic National Salvation Front is still Romania's foremost party. But it can no longer govern alone, and the democratic opposition is growing restless. Will you form an alliance with the other major political forces, that is, with those who mourn the passing of national-communism?

[Iliescu] The general elections in October and the formation of Nicolae Vacaroiu's government mark the end of a particular phase: Political life has been democratized, and Romania now enjoys personal freedoms, a law-based state, and separate powers. This is radical progress. True, the choice is difficult after the elections. The opposition refuses to shoulder any responsibilities. Since there was no other solution, the Democratic National Salvation Front formed a government on its own. This has advantages; it is a homogeneous team and it can implement a more consistent policy....

[Revel] The government is also more vulnerable. Might you appeal to the parties that mourn Ceausescu's

passing, such as Gheorghe Funar's PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], the Greater Romania Party, or the Socialist Party of Labor?

[Iliescu] Nicolae Vacaroiu's government was formed with a single party and enjoys considerable parliamentary support. In the confidence vote on 19 November there were 260 votes in favor out of 481—that is more deputies than those of the Democratic National Salvation Front and the three parties you mentioned put together. This means that part of the opposition secretly decided to support the government.

[Revel] In a book just published in France your former prime minister, Petre Roman, says that you "cannot do anything but patch up the communist system." What is your reply?

[Iliescu] Petre Roman is someone who no longer interests me. He no longer represents anything in Romania.

[Revel] Why, then, did you choose him? Was it a mistake?

[Iliescu] Yes. At that time I made many mistakes. You have to understand the situation in December 1989. The political system was collapsing, and a provisional government had to be formed. I appreciated Petre Roman's desire for change. But I also knew that he had no political experience.

[Revel] The criticism made of you both here and in the West is, rather, that you surround yourself with people with too much experience, many of whom held responsible posts under Ceausescu....

[Iliescu] That is an erroneous impression. There are no representatives of the old regime within the presidency.

[Revel] Many of the managers appointed by the old regime in the agricultural cooperatives and the major industrial combines are still there. Are these apparatchiks really the best people to guide the transition to the market economy?

[Iliescu] This is an artificial issue. When the economy is in a state of crisis, state intervention is necessary. Even in the United States people are starting to reconsider....

[Revel] The Romanian economy's main problem is, rather, that the state is too invasive....

[Iliescu] The state must continue to intervene. Petre Roman and the other liberals had no experience of the real economy. They talked about the market economy as though it entailed the total relinquishment of public power. That was mere adventurism....

[Revel] What is your economic model?

[Iliescu] Italy, France, and Spain seem like interesting examples. But Romania, with its massive state sector, still has a long way to go. The privatization process will take time. In the former East Germany, after three years of shock therapy, living conditions are still deteriorating.

And yet, Germany's economy is the strongest in Europe, and there has been a massive injection of capital into the former GDR. How could we move any faster in Romania?

[Revel] There is another embarrassing legacy left by Ceausescu—the police state. The Securitate records are still secret. Would it not be better to get rid of this poisonous legacy, as in the GDR or Russia?

[Iliescu] As a state institution, Securitate was dissolved the first night of the revolution, 22 December 1989.

[Revel] It is not enough to change the name....

[Iliescu] The repressive apparatus was eliminated in the first three months of 1990. Then we created an intelligence service, such as exists in every modern country. As for the records of the former Securitate, we have decided not to touch them for 40 years—that is, except in the case of the files concerning political leaders, which will be examined by a parliamentary committee. Everything—and I mean everything—is subject to parliamentary supervision.

[revel] With the revival of nationalism, the Balkans are again a crisis area. Romania has two large minorities -- the Hungarians and the gypsies. The latter have been rather neglected by the reforms. Many of them are emigrating, especially to Germany. What can you do to keep them in Romania?

[Iliescu] After the revolution the gypsies, like all Romanians, regained their freedom of movement. What should we do? Prevent them from traveling and reintroduce exit visas? No, the only solution is to give them jobs. The Germans, worried about the influx of refugees, agree to pay their return fares to Romania. The agreement between Bonn and Bucharest extends no further than that. In Western Europe, with rare exceptions, national minorities are not recognized. The norm is total assimilation. And yet the West presumes to lecture us....

[Revel] It is not the West that is fanning the flames in the Balkans....

[Iliescu] Romania recognizes the existence of minorities. Just like the Hungarians, who have 30 deputies, the Greeks, Muslims, Russians, Ukrainians, Serbs, and Slovaks are all represented in the Romanian parliament. You will not find that in any Western country.

[Revel] In Transylvania the mayor of Cluj, Gheorghe Funar, who supports your government, has just banned the display of notices in Hungarian. Is that not playing with fire in that part of Europe?

[Iliescu] Extremism feeds extremism, and there certainly is extremism in the attitude of Gheorghe Funar and some others. But too much fuss is made about that. In Transylvania Romanians of Hungarian origins have every opportunity to study, to be informed, and to be educated in their own language....

[Revel] Clearly, some of those who support your government do not agree with that policy....

[Iliescu] Gheorghe Funar's extremism is just a reaction against Hungarian extremism.

[Revel] Do you mean that Hungarian irredentism exists in Romania?

[Iliescu] Of course! It is unfortunately nurtured by some officials in Budapest. And not only in Romania, but also in other places where there are Hungarian minorities—in Vojvodina, Slovakia, or Ukraine. Even Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antal is playing that game when he proclaims himself "prime minister of 15 million Hungarians." What does that mean? How would the French react if Helmut Kohl were to declare himself chancellor of 100 million Germans, not only in Germany, but also in Austria, Switzerland, and even France?

[Revel] Moldova—which Stalin seized from Romania and turned into a Soviet republic—is independent now. But you do not seem to be in much of a hurry to bring 4 million Moldovans into a Romania restored to its prewar borders. Has the Yugoslav precedent tempered your ardor?

[Iliescu] No, not at all. Moldova in historically Romanian territory. But we must be realistic. At the moment Moldova's prime task is to consolidate its independence. Until very recently everything still depended on Moscow. Then direct relations will have to be developed between Romania and Moldova. That will be a further step on the road to reunification....

[Revel] When do you think reunification will take place?

[Iliescu] There is no timetable. The Germans did not plan their unification: History accelerated on its own.

[Revel] To the west of Romania, the former Yugoslavia is a major crisis area. Romania has been accused of breaking the UN embargo. The Security Council has just passed another resolution to plug the loopholes. Will you implement these provisions?

[Iliescu] Of course. Romania has not been accused of anything. There are merely suspicions about the efficiency of the monitoring along the Danube, an international river. We can monitor the Romanian ports, but not the Russian or Ukrainian ships that sail along the Danube. It was Romania itself that suggested stepping up international monitoring.

[Revel] Serbia is a traditional ally of Romania. Do you support the positions held by Belgrade in the successive wars waged in the former Yugoslavia?

[Iliescu] Yes. Serbia is a traditional ally and our closest neighbor. This war affects us not only emotionally, but also politically and economically. With regard to Bosnia-Herzegovina, I also think that Yugoslavia has the most realistic view at the outset, namely, that the issue should be settled by means of a consensus among the three

communities—Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. War broke out because this view was not heeded.

[Revel] Does that mean that you feel sympathy for those, such as Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who advocate a "Greater Serbia"?

[Iliescu] Once again, it is up to the people of the former Yugoslavia to decide their own future.

'Expected More From West'

AU2511124892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1203 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/11/1992—Romania's President Ion Iliescu considers there is no danger of a bloody ethnic conflict in Romania. In an interview granted in Bucharest to Mme. Margareta Florea, chairwoman of the Italy-Romania Association of Milan, President Iliescu also shows that Romanians and Hungarians have always lived in good understanding in Romania. Unfortunately, he added, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, which currently has a powerful representation in the Parliament, "shows a certain orientation toward radicalism, but it is influenced by Budapest's policy."

In another sequence of ideas, referring to the inherent difficulties of the passage to a free market economy, Ion Iliescu pointed to the need for foreign credits in order to be able to start the necessary restructuring, especially in industry, and stressed that Romania expected more from the West in that respect.

Romania's major objective on a short term is to curb the decline of the national economy and, on an average and long term, priority will be given to economic and social revigoration. Romania's president assessed that special heed ought to be paid to the sectors availing both of the needed resources and of experience, such as agriculture, food industry, light industry, machine-building.

Vacaroiu's 'True Government' Defended

AU2511151292 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 21 Nov 92 pp 1,3

[Editorial by Constantin Duica: "If You Do Not Mind, the Vacaroiu Government, Endorsed by Parliament, Is an FDSN Government"]

[Text] We will never understand why some parties participated in the elections when they refused and continue to refuse to participate in the government. The whole meaning of a party's existence is lost when such a party wins a certain percentage of the electorate's vote, becomes a parliamentary party and is thus qualified to participate in the government. Certainly, it is not obliged to associate with parties that have a different orientation, but there are crucial moments of profound economic, social, and political crisis, when a consensus among all the parties is required. For example in Germany, for a simple modification of the constitution

permitting a reduction in the number of asylum-seekers, the Social Democratic Party decided to support the governing parties.

Did Romania need a government of national unity? Yes it did. President Ion Iliescu was the first one to understand this and the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] proposed it and even started negotiations to achieve it. Senator Ion Coja [Romanian National Unity Party] discussed it clearly on the evening of 18 November. Who rejected the uniting of all the forces in an act to save the country? The opposition and the FSN. The reason is indeed childish: that it is the FDSN's duty to govern since it won the elections. I used to examine the way in which opposition parties view Romanian political life and I even studied their electoral platforms. I used to say then, that in general the opposition is still immature, and personal or group ambitions turn every act of goodwill into mere wishful thinking. The only party that knew what it really wanted, was led skillfully and even in a militant style, was the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], which succeeded in making its way, through the Democratic Convention of Romania, to the Romanian Parliament.

Certainly, the FDSN knows that it is duty-bound to govern and that it can do so only with competent people; thus, those are the ones the FDSN proposed, starting with Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu. As for the discussions on the program and the list of government members presented by Mr. Vacaroiu, we can see two aspects: We believe that both the FDSN leadership and Mr. Vacaroiu relied too much on the good faith of the opposition deputies when they assumed that the FDSN platform is enough for them and presented to parliament only a draft of the government's plans, with an emphasis on the crisis program. The opposition, although it had no doubts about the directions of the government, merely decided to change the target of their criticism, and that is what they call constructive opposition. The result is clear: The FDSN and the government proposed by it know by now that this opposition slogan has no real basis and that the FDSN can in no way rely on any opposition party.

The speech made on 20 November by Mr. Vacaroiu managed to clarify things: His government is an FDSN government, even if he is not a member of that party, like several other members of the government. Moreover, the prime minister proved that he knows exactly what is going on in the Romanian economy, who is to be blamed for its disastrous state, and in what ways this crisis can be overcome. Mr. Ion Cristoiu [chief editor of the daily *EVENIMENTUL ZILEI*] should not worry either. Maybe Mr. Vacaroiu is no orator, but he knows how to speak so that those who really want to can understand him. I hope that even he spotted Mr. Adrian Severin on television whispering something into Petre Roman's ear and could ask himself about the meaning of that superior smile on the former's lips. Was it not maybe a polished shallowness at the sight of competent modesty?

What is the opposition left with after the elections? To claim that the current government is one endorsed by the FDSN, the Romanian National Unity Party, the Socialist Party of Labor, and the Romania Mare Party. That is, center-left or left oriented parties. Also to claim that the present government is allegedly a government of communist revival. These pathetic slogans have been known for a long time. However, what is more deplorable is that the PNTCD has put all its eggs in the same nest as the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania. Thus, the joy of finally having a true government is clouded by this act, while we are thinking of Iuliu Maniu....

Tudor's Anti-Romanian Law Might Backfire

AU2511155992 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Nov 92 pp 1, 2

[Article by Florin Iaru: "For the Attention of Parliament: C.V. Tudor Calls for the Trial of Communism for 'Anti-Romanian Activities'—A Fool's Tongue Is Long Enough To Cut His Own Throat"]

[Text] A basic principle of the martial arts is that the force, weight, and aggression of one's opponent should be used against him. The martial arts (need one still say?) do not only refer to the amount of muscle one has under one's skin....

Recently, the press has seemed worried about the persistence with which Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor is pushing himself into the limelight. To make the headlines of each "Current Events" program—this seems to be this politician's aim! Unfortunately, he has stereotypical statements: increasing the army's technical equipment and anti-Romanian activities. Obviously, a political party is based on an economic doctrine, which produces the ideology that it professes, but these are issues that are too complicated for our artist. There is no need to prove that he has no idea of economics. The voting of the Vacaroiu government, whose mini-program contradicts not only the FDSN program, but also the program of the Romania Mare Party, proves us right.

In fact, this is not the issue that worries the opposition, but rather the insistence with which C.V. Tudor reduces every serious and grave issue to jingoistic demagoguery. His last initiative, that was mercilessly disseminated by the mass media, was to promote a law that should punish "anti-Romanian activities," a law which will apparently go through successfully with an FDSN blinded by hatred toward the opposition, and this law might be one of the most urgently passed. The opposition should not be worried about it, on the contrary, it should support this initiative in parliament, with appropriate amendments, to the great hilarity and amusement of other countries.

I am not joking. I have often noticed that by thinking in a way different from the majority, you can achieve spectacular results. Certainly, C.V. Tudor is thinking about the past three years and wants Roman's head,

death to the rabbi, and the dismantlement of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (and, for the sake of consistency, he also asks for the destruction of all groupings organized on an ethnic principle), and he wants personal glory. But, with a little imagination, C.V. Tudor's ideas could be made to work.

After all, what does it mean, an "anti-Romanian activity"? In no way is this a struggle among parties, between parties and people, or simply among citizens. Certainly, by the term "anti-Romanian activity" we should understand—and C.V. Tudor will have to understand, too—all public manifestations that end with the destruction, encroachment, and degradation of Romania and of its population. We could start the list of anti-Romanian crimes (not activities) with the crime committed on a large scale, injustice, and the degradation of the biological capacities of the Romanian people. We could refer to Romania's drop from the 10th place it held in Europe at the end of the World War II, to its present penultimate place.

We can call an "anti-Romanian activity" the killing of babies in maternity homes or destroying peasants' farms, incarcerating Romanians in their own country, distorting our national history, and persecuting and chasing away valuable people. And what about those people being discriminated against according to party criteria? And what about condemning old people just because they were old and were "consuming" instead of producing? And what about the whole army of cripples and orphans that frighten us? And what about those women who died with the prosecutor standing at the head of their beds, because they did not accept becoming reproduction machines? And what about cold and hunger? Are these not "anti-Romanian activities"? And what about spying on simple citizens and destroying and blackmailing them? And last but not least, what about the frightening image of Romania abroad!

I am convinced that without being aware of it for one single moment, C.V. Tudor has condemned himself, because for 15 years he was the faithful servant of anti-Romanians. And, by being a partner to this national degradation, he degraded himself. If the law were tough enough, C.V. Tudor would lose his parliamentary immunity—and many of his disciples would do the same—and would go tumbling where he belongs (and from where the revolution saved him). But the most brilliant victory of this sly parliamentarian would be the legal, public, and inevitable starting of the trial of communism.

Do you hear me, comrades?

Spokesman Views Istanbul Conference, Other Issues

AU2511184692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1642 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/11/1992—The Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman informed at the

Wednesday, 25 November news briefing that representing Romania to the Istanbul conference of Balkan and other states interested in solving the Yugoslav crisis is Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Traian Chebeleu, deputy to the foreign minister.

Romania, the spokesman said, is ready to support any initiative apt to help progress in the solution of the conflict in the former Yugoslav Republics.

Gheorghe Tinca, Foreign Ministry under secretary of state, was received, during his Middle East tour, by the president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, who assessed, on the occasion, that the relations between Romania and Syria were following the natural course of cooperation between two states and peoples, irrespective of the internal changes and of the objective conditions that determine them. President [Hafiz] al-Asad gave assurances that Syria respected and appreciated the Romanian people's options as a sovereign nation and wished Romania to advance on the path of progress, a course which he considered as more accessible to Romania, unlike other countries in the area, Romania having conditions to consolidate its internal stability and revigorate its economy. Therefore Syria's president shared the readiness of the Romanian side for fresh joint actions to promote bilateral relations, mostly economic, for the examination and settlement of the financial and technical problems still pending.

The spokesman also announced the opening on 24 November in New York of the Romanian Cultural Center, headed by director Liviu Petrescu. The moment was marked by the varnishing of a large exhibition of Romanian contemporary art.

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Dali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Republic of Yemen (a member of the government) will pay a visit to Romania over December 2-5, the Foreign Ministry spokesman announced. This visit marks a new stage in the Romanian-Yemeni political dialogue. Talks will be centered on a wide range of bilateral and global issues. Special attention will be paid to economic cooperation. Early this month the Romanian company Electromontaj SA signed a contract of \$47 billion with the Yemeni Company of Electricity for the

building of a power line to link the towns of Taiz and Aden, and of power distribution networks.

The November 25 press conference of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also told that the U.S. Department of Agriculture approved credit guarantees amounting to \$36 million for the fiscal year 1992-93, that is, \$35 million for the export of bakery wheat and \$1 million for the export of reproduction poultry to Romania, as part of a program of credit exports guaranteed by commodity credit corporation.

In early October 1992, the U.S. Department of Agriculture authorized a long-term loan for Romania, under advantageous conditions, totalling \$10 million. The Romanian party opted to use this loan to import American bakery wheat.

Consumer Goods' Prices Increase by 9.6 Percent

AU2611160092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0926 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/11/1992—The consumer prices went up 9.6 percent last October in Romania as compared with the month before, said Alexandru Radocea, deputy chairman of the National Statistical Board, at the news conference of November 25.

The consumer price growth rate with foodstuffs was 10.8 percent, the rate with nonalimentary commodities was 8.7 percent, and the rate with services—8.3 percent.

"These rises were brought about both by the subsidy cuts and by the fuel price rises," said Petre Pepelea, chairman of the National Statistical Board. As compared with October 1990, the month prior to the first price thaw, the consumer prices were 10.4 times higher in October 1992. An even higher growth was recorded with food (almost 12 times).

In the first ten months of this year the average rate of inflation was 8.8 percent. It is estimated that in November and December 1992 the consumer prices will go up 18 percent and 8 percent respectively, as compared with last October.

Morillon Says Cease-Fire Agreement Reached

LD2711231092 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2222 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—United Nations Protection Force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) commander in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina French General Philippe Morillon said on Friday [27 November] that the agreement between Bosnian Serbs and the Republic of Croatia for an end of enmities between the Croatian Army and the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had been verified on Friday.

The agreement will go into effect on November 29 at midnight, and was verified on Friday during a meeting of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina state delegation and General Morillon at Pale, the political centre of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said the Bosnian Serbs news agency SRNA.

Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Radovan Karadzic, who represented the Serbian side at the meeting with Morillon, confirmed on Friday that an agreement on the ending of enmities between the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Republic had been signed on Thursday.

General Morillon said that the agreement "had been signed yesterday by Croatian commander General Janko Bobetko in the name of the Croatian National Guard, and the Serbian side had confirmed today," said SRNA.

General Bobetko talked in Sarajevo on Thursday with the commander of the Bosnian Serbs forces on the ending of enmities, and on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army from the territory of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said SRNA.

Over 50,000 members of the regular Croatian Army are fighting in the territory of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After the meeting at Pale, Karadzic said that the agreement on a ceasefire between the Bosnian Serbs army and the Croatian Army would also be accepted by units of the Croatian Council of Defence (the Bosnian Croats army).

In a telephone talk with ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent, Karadzic said that the agreement "was the greatest sign that peace was coming to Bosnia."

"After peace is set up between Croatia and Bosnian Serbs, both sides will start negotiations on borders."

"The Croats, as compared to the Moslems, have a realistic view. They want their state in Bosnia as we do. The Moslems however, want to preserve Bosnia as an unitarian Moslem state, which is impossible," as Karadzic told the AP correspondent.

Karadzic Confirms Signing

LD2711211592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2010 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—This evening, Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, confirmed the signing of an agreement to end the hostilities between the Serb Republic and the Republic of Croatia, SRNA reports.

SRNA says that Karadzic made this statement after today's talks between representatives of the Serb Republic and French General Philippe Morillon, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander in Bosnia-Herzegovina. These talks were held in Pale.

According to SRNA, Karadzic expressed the hope that the cease-fire agreement between the Serb Republic and the Republic of Croatia will also be accepted by the units of the Herceg-Bosnia HVO [Croatian Defense Council].

The leader of the Bosnian Serbs expressed his gratitude to General Morillon for his role of a mediator and for the "ability he displayed in succeeding to bring General Janko Bobetko, chief of general staff of the Republic of Croatia Army, to the negotiating table."

Karadzic also expressed the hope that General Morillon's mission will receive full support from the Croat side and that the Muslim representatives will join in.

Mladic Reportedly Rejects Agreement

LD2911000092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] According to an announcement made this evening by the Information Department of the Republic of Croatia Defense Ministry, due to incorrect and arbitrary interpretations of the conclusions reached at a recent meeting between General Janko Bobetko, chief of general staff of the Croatian Army; General Philippe Morillon, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina; and General Ratko Mladic [Bosnian Serb commander], as well as of the results of this meeting, the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia has issued the following statement:

"The Republic of Croatia is determined, as it has always been, to accept and implement every UN Security Council resolution, including the latest, Resolution 787. The Croatian army is not, and has never been involved in any combat confrontations with, or on the territory of, the sovereign Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It advocates that the border area stretching 30 kilometers beyond the border as well as Trebinje be demilitarized and that the international community should guarantee the security and inviolability of Croatia's borders."

To this effect, the chairman of the meeting, General Morillon, suggested that a ceasefire be put into effect at 2400 on 28 November, which General Bobetko agreed to, considering he signed this conclusion from the

meeting along with Gen. Morillon. However, the Serbian side, headed by Gen. Mladic, has failed to sign this agreement despite the fact that the agreement has undergone a number of alterations. Gen. Bobetko has informed the public and General Satish Nambiar, UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia, about this development.

Truce Talks Flounder

*AU2711171092 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT
27 Nov 92*

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 27 (AFP)—Serb forces pounded defense lines of one of the few remaining strongholds of ethnic Croatian and Moslem troops in the north of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the border town of Orasje Friday [27 November], Radio Zagreb reported.

Talks on a ceasefire had failed, the radio said.

Croatia's army chief and the leader of Serbian forces in Bosnia met in Sarajevo for talks on a truce Thursday in their first meeting since the outbreak of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina in April.

Croatian General Janko Bobetko on Friday denied that he refused to sign the accord with Ratko Mladic, accusing the Bosnian Serb general of opposing an agreement, the radio reported.

General Mladic earlier said that because of Bobetko's lack of cooperation no ceasefire or agreement on the repatriation of regular Croatian troops from northern Bosnia had been signed.

Bobetko and Mladic met in Sarajevo in the presence of French General Philippe Morillon, commander of the United Nations Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia.

Bobetko told Croatian television that, contrary to Serbian claims, no regular Croatian troops were stationed in northern Bosnia.

In the talks Bobetko proposed that all hostilities in the former Yugoslav republic cease Saturday at midnight and that a joint committee, to be set up within a month, monitor the ceasefire.

Morillon had termed the proposal "wise and constructive," Bobetko said.

The meeting with Mladic and Morillon was aimed at "negotiating a settlement" for Croatian territories attacked by Serbian forces on the River Sava (in the north of Bosnia-Herzegovina) and on the Neretva on its southern border with Montenegro, Bobetko said.

In Friday's attack, two surface-to-surface missiles and some 400 mortar and canon shells rained on Orasje, located in Bosnia opposite the Croatian town of Zupanja, just south of the Sava.

Two people were killed in the attack and four were wounded, according to the radio report.

Usora and Tesanj, also in the north, Bihac and the Cazin region in the northwest, Travnik in central Bosnia and Suica in western Herzegovina were also targeted by Serbian forces on Friday, Croatian sources said.

Bobetko accused Serbian forces of launching daily attacks on Croatia's eastern Slavonia region, north of the Sava, "from the territory of sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina" in violation of international agreements.

Some 5,000 homes have been destroyed to date in and near Zupanja by Serbian artillery, he said.

Serbian forces also repeatedly opened fire in the Konavle region, south of the Adriatic landmark city of Dubrovnik, after the withdrawal of regular Yugoslav forces on October 20.

He said Croatia proposed to demilitarize a 30-kilometer (20-mile corridor) on either side of the Croatian-Montenegrin border south of Dubrovnik and the Trebinje region near the city but inside Herzegovina.

International troops should be posted in the area to monitor a ceasefire, he said.

Izetbegovic Rejects Talks with Karadzic, Milosevic

*LD2911185292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 92*

[Text] Nobel Peace Prize winner Elie Wiesel has arrived in Sarajevo. During an hour of talks with Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, he suggested a meeting between Izetbegovic, Karadzic, and Milosevic at a special peace conference in Paris. Izetbegovic said, regarding this proposal: I cannot accept that, because what is going on in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not an ordinary war, but a genocide against the non-Serb population. Some 100,000 people have been killed, and 1 million evicted, just because they are not Serbs. The people do not see in the aggressor an ordinary enemy, but a murderer of their children, and one does not hold talks with such people.

Karadzic Comments on Refusal

*LD2611223792 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2156 GMT 26 Nov 92*

[Text] Belgrade, November 26 (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnian Serbs Dr. Radovan Karadzic said on Thursday [26 November] he regretted the refusal of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic to meet with him and with President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SRJ) Dobrica Cosic on Sunday, in the presence of Nobel prize winner for literature - Eli Wiesel.

The visit of Mr. Wiesel would provide an excellent opportunity for the representatives of the warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina to meet and talk directly, but

because Izetbegovic declined, the chance was lost. Karadzic said in telephone communication with TANJUG.

The invitation to Bosnian Moslem leader Izetbegovic for a joint meeting was sent out by Cosic. It was seen as another chance to discuss ending bloodshed in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where a civil, ethnic and religious war raged for over seven months between the Moslems and Croats and the Serbs.

The Serb side was always in favor of direct talks. Personally, I would not want to meet certain people, but I must on behalf of the Serbian people talk with everyone, even with the enemy, said Karadzic.

Izetbegovic replied to Cosic's invitation he would accept only to meet with Eli Wiesel, former inmate of the Nazi camps, who was due in Yugoslavia on Friday at the invitation of Cosic.

Izetbegovic said he could talk to Cosic or Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic "at some other, more favorable opportunity," omitting to mention Karadzic at all.

General Denies Participating in Truce Talks

LD2811092592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The office of Lieutenant Colonel General Dobrasin Prascevic today strongly denied claims that Gen. Prascevic took part in negotiations with representatives of the Croatian Army in Bosanski Brod three days ago. In the denial it is said that at the time when the talks were allegedly being held, Gen. Prascevic was on a business trip to Podgorica.

The information service of the Yugoslav Army told a TANJUG correspondent that Gen. Prascevic heads the inspection service of the Yugoslav Army and that he is in no way linked with the Army of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

Army sources of the Army of the Serb Republic in Banja Luka announced on Wednesday [25 November] that representatives of the Army of the Serb Republic and the Army of the Republic of Croatia had met in Bosanski Brod the previous day and signed an agreement on the withdrawal of Croatian units from northern Bosnia.

In that statement, included in the list of participants at the talks and signatories to the agreement was the name of Lt. Col. Gen. Dobrasin Prascevic, which his office energetically dismissed today as being untrue.

The report on the signing of an agreement was also denied yesterday by Antun Tus, chief military adviser to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who was identified in the statement as the leader of the delegation of the Croatian Army at the talks.

Aid Convoy Permitted To Proceed to Srebrenica

LD2811135592 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1239 GMT 28 Nov 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Ljubovija, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—The convoy carrying humanitarian aid of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, intended mostly for Moslems in Srebrenica, was allowed on Saturday to proceed to Srebrenica. The convoy was stopped three days ago by Serb civilians—mainly women, old people and children—on the bridge near Bratunac, on the border between the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Serb civilians in Bratunac, including many refugees who managed to flee before the Moslem aggression in Srebrenica, stopped the convoy because they were revolted by the unjust distribution of the humanitarian aid. Of the 19 trucks carrying 160 tons of food, only three were intended for Serbs in Bratunac while the remaining 16 trucks were sent to Moslems in the neighbouring town of Srebrenica. The inhabitants of Bratunac let the convoy proceed to Srebrenica, but refused to accept the relief contained in the three trucks intended for them.

Bratunac Mayor Rodoljub Djukanovic said that the inhabitants and refugees in Bratunac had let the convoy pass because they "accepted the stand of the highest leadership of the Serb Republic" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. "This is a way in which we show that our state lives and exists," Djukanovic told TANJUG correspondent. "The convoy will go to Srebrenica owing to the understanding and broad-mindedness of the Serbs," commander of the Drina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army, Colonel Milenko Zivanovic told TANJUG.

Convoy Blocked Earlier

LD2711161292 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1537 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 27 (TANJUG)—Some 500 women and children of Serb nationality have blocked the way to a U.N. humanitarian convoy which, under an accord with Military Commander of Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs General Ratko Mladic, set out on Friday [27 November] morning for Srebrenica, a Moslem-controlled town in the east of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, REUTERS has reported.

The convoy was halted on a bridge over the Drina river, the administrative border between the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The group of angry women and children is headed by the mother and sister of a twenty-year-old boy of Serb nationality from Bosnia-Herzegovina, who was killed on Thursday in a clash with Moslem forces.

On Wednesday morning, the convoy was halted on the same spot by border guards of the Serb Republic who did

not allow it to cross the river because of a protest by Serbs in Bratunac. The protesters, mostly women and children, were angered by the fact that only three of the 19 trucks with humanitarian aid were intended for their town, while the rest were for Moslem-populated Srebrenica.

Early this autumn, scores of Serb civilians were massacred near Milici and Skelan, in the Bratunac area, and about ten villages were plundered and burnt down. Bosnian Serbs hold the Srebrenica Moslems responsible for the crimes.

General Mladic on Thursday negotiated the passage of the humanitarian convoy with UNPROFOR Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina General Philippe Morillon.

REUTER quoted a U.N. spokesman as saying that General Mladic had explained to General Morillon that the convoy was halted because of fear about the mine fields between Bratunac and Srebrenica through which the convoy was to pass.

The humanitarian convoy was to arrive about 3 p.m. local time on Friday in Srebrenica, where some 70,000 people, including refugees, are on the verge of starvation, said REUTER citing data released by the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Muslim Victory Near Bihac

LD2911133692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] During hand-to-hand combat in Grabez area [part of Bihac front in northwestern Bosnia], the soldiers of the 5th Corps' 2nd Brigade [Muslim forces] decimated the aggressors' so-called Kljuc brigade [Serb forces] which was trying to relieve the blocked barracks of the former Yugoslav National Army. According to last night's statement of the Corps' information center, at least 25 chetniks were killed and 2 machine guns, 15 semi-automatic weapons, and a large quantity of ammunition were captured. The defense line has been moved a further kilometer into the occupied territory.

Unfortunately our side had losses too. Captain Adil Kresic, who was a member of Bosnia-Herzegovina army from the very first day, was killed while leading his unit.

Sarajevo Radio Says UNPROFOR Building Hit

AU3011120892

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 30 November carries in its regular 15-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

Reporting from Zenica, Mujo Delibegovic says that "the area of responsibility of the Third Corps—that is, Travnik, Turbe, Zavidovici, and Zenica—is still being

targeted by the chetniks. So, for example, at 0300, Turbe was shelled with heavy artillery. In the Zavidovici area, the aggressor continued its systematic destruction of Borovnica, Sinanovici, (?Lijevce), and (?Sipovici), while Poljice and (?Paraoc) came under attack from anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, mortars, and snipers. The fighting has been stepped up on the Zenica battlefield, so at around 2000 last night, artillery fire could be heard coming from (?Grajina)." He says that "it was a relatively quiet night elsewhere in the region. The Press Center of the Third Corps officially announced today that yesterday's air raid warning in Zenica was sounded because of the overflights of enemy helicopters."

In his report from Tesanj, Ramiz Brkic says that "(?Ruzici), (?Zrntici), Kalosevic, (?Jola), and Mrkotic are being pounded today with 203-mm howitzer shells. At 0800, the Information Center sounded the general alarm and immediately afterward chetnik heavy artillery shelled the center of the town. In their death throes, the chetniks will stoop to anything. Even Television Banja Luka shows inanities such as the one about the capturing of the regional road between Doboj and Teslic, whereas no chetnik foot has stepped on it since [word indistinct] and it never will again."

Kemal Balihodzic reports from Bugojno on yesterday's fighting, saying that "throughout the night, our defense positions were shelled." He cites the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council as saying that "in the upper region of the Vrbas River, 29 chetniks were liquidated the previous day, while a good number were injured."

Reporting from Sarajevo, Duska Rakonjac says that "reporters were told today that last night the building housing the headquarters of the UN peace forces was again hit. The building was hit with a 40-mm shell fired from an anti-aircraft gun. No one was hurt in the blast, and the building was only slightly damaged. As always, UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] does not know who fired at their building last night."

Muslims Reportedly Launch Sarajevo Offensive

LD2711233592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2220 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—During this afternoon, Muslim forces launched an offensive against almost all parts of the Sarajevo battlefield. SRNA reported this evening, citing the press center of the Sarajevo-Romanija corps of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina].

According to SRNA, Ilidza was the site of the heaviest fighting. During the afternoon, mortars falling around Luzani and the local hospital wounded seven civilians.

SRNA reports that at the same time the Muslim forces launched attacks on the Serb positions in the Jewish cemetery, Grbavica I, and Grbavica II districts. Three Serb fighters were wounded during these attacks.

During the evening, explosions and infantry fire could be heard from Dobrinja.

SRNA says the Serb fighters had to respond "to prevent the enemy from attempting infantry breakthroughs."

Muslims Charge MacKenzie With Sexual Abuse

AU2911161692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1430 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] The military public prosecutor in Sarajevo started proceedings against Canadian General MacKenzie, commander of the blue berets in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for alleged war crimes committed against the civilian population.

The bill of indictment claims that, during his stay in Sarajevo, MacKenzie sexually abused four Muslim girls from a Serbian prison camp.

The public prosecutor is asking that the military authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina demand that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali annul the immunity of the Canadian general.

UN Official Says Serb Claims of Bias 'Nonsense'

AU2711161092 Paris AFP in English 1544 GMT
27 Nov 92

[Text] Geneva, Nov 27 (AFP)—U.N. officials Friday [27 November] said an aid convoy blocked at the Serbian border showed how warlords in Bosnia-Herzegovina were failing to honor accords, but warned they would "not give up" in their relief efforts.

"This deplorable situation outside Srebrenica is but the latest example of the failure by the leaders of the various sides to honor their commitments to the international community," said Ron Redmond, spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

He said High Commissioner Sadako Ogata was "frustrated and irritated by the constant difficulties faced by our humanitarian efforts in ex-Yugoslavia".

He was referring to a U.N. aid convoy of 150 tonnes of food that has been blocked at Ljubovija on the Bosnian-Serb border since Wednesday, where Serbian gunmen have refused to allow through the aid despite safe-passage guarantees Thursday by Bosnian Serb General Ratko Mladic.

Once again the military chiefs "appear unable or incapable of getting their people on the ground to carry out agreements," Redmond said.

But "we are going to dig in our heels. We are not going to give up. Too many lives depend on it," he said.

The spokesman also dismissed as "pure nonsense" allegations by Bosnian Serbs that the U.N. had not distributed humanitarian aid equally to all sides.

According to the UNHCR, more than three million people have been displaced by fighting that followed the break-up of the former Yugoslavia. Of these, 580,000 have left former Yugoslav territory.

The UNHCR also has received offers for 4,309 places for refugees freed from detention camps, but still needs 2,291 more.

Switzerland for one has proposed facilities that can be used as transition camps, which the UNHCR said could speed up the release of the last detainees.

The High Commissioner will make an official working visit to Bern on Wednesday to discuss with Swiss officials the refugee situation in former Yugoslavia, as well as other world trouble spots, an official Swiss announcement said Friday.

Religious Leaders Appeal for Peace

LD2611104692 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0040 GMT 26 Nov 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—The leaders of the Orthodox, Catholic and Moslem religious communities from the territories of the former Yugoslavia appealed on Wednesday [25 November] for an end to bloodshed and for peace in this territory.

A joint appeal was sent after the two-day meeting in Switzerland between the Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarch Pavle, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Sarajevo Vinko Puljic and spiritual leader of Moslems Reis Ul Ulema Jakub Selimoski.

News agencies' reports said from Zurich that the three proposed December 23 be declared worldwide as a day of prayer and solidarity with Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was the first time that high church dignitaries from the former Yugoslavia sent a joint appeal for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where a civil, ethnic and religious war has been raging for over seven months between the Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

The joint appeal also requested the closing down of all internment camps in Bosnia-Herzegovina and free flow of humanitarian aid.

Following the meeting, Patriarch Pavle told newsmen that every religion must condemn all crimes and all criminals, wherever they come from.

According to Rabbi Arthur Schneier, whose appeal of conscience foundation promoted the meeting, the leaders of the three religious communities agreed to set up a joint standing committee to coordinate further actions on promoting peace.

REUTERS said also that Patriarch Pavle, Archbishop Puljic and Reis Ul Ulema Selimoski agreed to meet again in Sarajevo.

Izetbegovic Says Relations With Croats 'Friendly'*LD2911119992 Zagreb Radio Croatian Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 92*

[Text] In a statement for [Bosnian] TV last night Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, described relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia as very friendly and deep-rooted. In most difficult times Croatia took care of hundreds of thousands of refugees and we shall never forget it, Izetbegovic added.

Speaking about the slowness with which the joint command of the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is being established, he said it is important [to remember] that owing to sensible people on both sides negative consequences in relations between Croats and Muslims in central Bosnia have been prevented. It is impossible to counter the chetniks without it, and the best example of it can be found in northern Bosnia, where cooperation is good and the results equally good, Izetbegovic said. He confirmed that representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army had been invited to the talks between General Bobetko and the Serbs, but this was rejected because, he said, no talks with chetniks are possible at such a high level.

Another report from Sarajevo: Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel has arrived in this city.

General Mladic Discusses War, Intervention*AU2511192992*

[Editorial Report] Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian at 2115 GMT on 23 November carries a special 55-minute program entitled "The Military Situation in the Serbian Republic" in which Lieutenant Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Army of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, is interviewed by Milena Tanjga. The place and date of the interview are not given.

In a reply to the first question on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Mladic mentions several reasons that render the situation in the republic complex, and then goes on to say:

"The situation is also made very complicated by the presence of a large number of armed forces of the state of Croatia, which is an internationally recognized entity in this region. At present, Croatia has about 40 brigades mainly on the territory of Herzegovina and central Bosnia, and partly in Mostobran and around Orasje."

Mladic also says that "these forces are regular Croatian troops that are being supported with strong artillery of some 11 or 12 regiments and about 10 special battalions earmarked for special operations. Predominantly, they are specialists for murders, massacres, throwing people into pits, and so forth. These are their tactics.

"The engagement of such large forces from Croatia complicates the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina very much. In our view, a truce would come about very quickly if these forces withdrew from within the administrative borders of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is made additionally complicated by the engagement of a significant number of special units from Islamic countries, the mujahidin, or holy warriors, as they call themselves, a trend that has recently been conducted in a more organized fashion via Turkey and some other Middle East countries. This is making the situation even more complicated and internationalizing the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I would say that the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina currently face several enemies. The first and most dangerous enemy is the armed formations, that is, the official forces of the Republic of Croatia. The second is the forces of the Croatian Defense Council, which contain a large number of mercenaries, even some blacks from some Islamic and African countries. The third is the Muslim forces strengthened by some mujahidin units. These units have become numerous already, particularly in central Bosnia, around Zenica, Visoko, Breza, Kakanj, Tuzla, and so forth. All in all, the situation is made more complicated by the presence of this foreign element, and I would say—I feel at liberty to say—by a fairly one-sided approach by both the Security Council and the negotiating team in the talks on the settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia, that is the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Geneva.

"The Serbs are still being demonized. We are being declared the aggressors, although we cannot be aggressors at our grandfathers' hearths. During many contacts our top political figures stressed this, as have I several times—and I would like to use this opportunity to do so again—that we still favor a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are aware that everything can eventually be agreed on in a peaceful manner, without further bloodshed.

"A major obstacle to all this is the decision by Alija Izetbegovic, who, as you know, before the beginning of combat operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, declared war on the Serbian people; on the Yugoslav People's Army, which still existed at that time; on Serbia and Montenegro; and on us who were born or live in this region. Unfortunately, he has not named the real aggressors against Bosnia-Herzegovina, because the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina was carried out in March, that is to say, it started to intensify at the beginning of April by the official forces of Croatia, which attacked Bosnia-Herzegovina with two very large groups, one from western Herzegovina via the Kupres plane toward central Bosnia, and the other from Slavonia, via the Sava basin, through the Bosna valley. Their aim was to link up in central Bosnia and in this way break apart the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbian Krajina in order to extinguish them. Fortunately, this has not happened."

Asked about the real situation in Hercegovina, Gen. Mladic says that "the situation is very complex because after the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Konavli, the Croatian authorities and Army, in violation of the Vance plan, moved large forces into this region, which should be under UN and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control. They directed these forces toward Trebinje. They also moved large forces onto the right bank of the Neretva River, so they coordinated their operations from Konavli and Dubrovnik toward Trebinje, from Capljina toward Stolac, from Mostar toward Nevesinje, where their forces are very large in number, and they have support. Only recently did they receive a large amount of ammunition for modern weapons."

Replying to a question as to the provenance of this ammunition, Mladic says that "they already have the facilities to produce their own ammunition and weapons, as they have in their hands the most modern factories, and not only in Yugoslavia. The best part of the military industry used to be in Slavonski Brod, where tanks were produced, which means that the Croats can now and do produce tanks. Then in Travnik, artillery and long-range missile systems, then in Pucarevo, Vitez, Konjic, munitions and weapons factories are mostly in their hands. There are about nine factories that are regarded as the most up-to-date not only in Europe but elsewhere."

"But they get most of their weapons and ammunition via Germany, Austria, and Hungary, and from the warehouses of the former army of the GDR."

Asked why Trebinje was under attack when it was a Serbian town, Mladic says that "they have a clear strategy of breaking up Yugoslavia, and they know that they cannot break up Yugoslavia until they break up the Serbian people. Croatia is the extended arm, the executor of the plan for breaking up Yugoslavia, and their objective was not only to secede from the former Yugoslavia, but to destroy it completely. They will try to do so with all their might until their task is completed or they are prevented from doing it. They have used the Muslim people very skillfully, they took advantage of the blindness of some of the leaders headed by Alija Izetbegovic. They have dragged the unfortunate people into a war that neither side needed and, as I have said many times, they would like to do so again; the German factor is going to play a part in the war in the former Yugoslavia as long as there are Croats, and Croats as long as there are Muslims. Their common aim is the complete annihilation of the Serbian people, first, those of us in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and then probably the others."

Asked to comment on the help asked from Yugoslavia by the authorities of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Hercegovina, and whether he thought such help was plausible, Mladic says that "Serbs in former Bosnia-Hercegovina are in a specific position. We cannot use

our other territories as, for example, Croatia is supporting the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Muslims are being supported by the Islamic countries and some central European countries and so on. We are in a way left to our own devices. I am against criticizing the leadership of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They are a separate state and, since 19 May, we have had our own army, authorities, and territory, and we are successfully defending that. I hope we will continue to do so."

"We have been given adequate help, considerable help. The most important help is that we have freedom and peace on the eastern side of the Drina, and we would like it to stay like that forever. I hope that we will prevail over those who are now out for our blood."

In answer to a question on combat operations in the corridor linking Yugoslavia and the Serbian regions in Bosnia and Croatia, Mladic says that the Croats and Muslims "have currently about four brigades around Orasje, and six to eight brigades that are carrying out attacks from the south, from Gradacac, Tuzla, and Majevica, brigades that are attempting to cut the corridor. They will not succeed. Do not worry about it."

Asked to comment on the situation in Sarajevo and around it, Mladic says that "the situation in and around Sarajevo was best described by somebody I spoke to several days ago. He said that as regards Sarajevo, there is no law or authority there. He was referring to the part controlled by the Muslim forces. The situation there is very dramatic. We are holding our territories around Sarajevo. We are not holding Sarajevo under siege. We are holding and defending our homes and lives. In the parts of Sarajevo that are now controlled by Muslim forces, 90 percent of what was Serbian has been burned down or destroyed, or the population has been maltreated so badly as to shame humanity. According to our information, the Serbian population in Sarajevo is receiving a 100-gram can of lunch meat per week."

"Out of all the humanitarian aid that arrives at the airport, or is delivered by other means, via our territories, humanitarian aid that is meant for the population of Sarajevo as a whole, some 90 percent, if not more, is distributed to the Muslims. The Serbs are only given a symbolic amount of aid. The situation there is therefore very bad."

"The situation in Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina could quickly be resolved, however, if the armed forces of Croatia withdrew, and if Alija Izetbegovic rescinded his decision, his declaration of war on the territory of the former of Bosnia-Hercegovina [as heard], and the order for the destruction of Serbs and the Serbian people. After all, the solution lies in negotiations and talks. We have always been and remain ready to resolve the problem. There has been enough suffering and bloodshed on both sides."

On "combat operations on the territory of the Serbian Republic," Gen. Mladic says: "Let me tell you, first of

all we have very obedient military forces. Our army is organized. The people are the army, the army is the people. What explains the quality of our army is the fact that anyone who can carry arms, regardless of whether he is a male or female, is aware that we have reached the point where we have to organize ourselves and defend one another. Otherwise we could become extinct. The pits of World War II, or what happened in Kupres, when the bodies of slaughtered and mutilated bodies of Serbs were thrown into Borovaca and other pits, could happen again."

In reply to a question about the possibility of returning some of the territories currently held by the Serbian army, Mladic says that the Serbs "have not taken anything. The Serbian people are indigenous, they are the constituent people, people who have lived in these areas the longest. All of this used to be Serbian. We do not want any Muslim or Croatian village or house. We do not need what belongs to them. We have enough and are satisfied with what we have. If anyone has lost anything on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is the Serbian people who have lost the most, in Sarajevo and other towns, where they invested much effort over a number of countries, and transformed them from old-fashioned backward Turkish towns to modern towns."

In reference to a question on the role of UNPROFOR, Gen. Mladic says: "I must pay tribute to the fact that the majority, if not all, of UNPROFOR personnel are trying to present an objective picture of the sufferings of the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and previously in Krajina. I am even convinced that they are sending a considerable number of accurate and objective reports back to their commands. After all, even if they had not sent any reports, we have sent a lot of information to the Security Council and Mr. [UN Secretary-General] Butrus-Ghali, and to the previous peace keepers, if we may call them that, Carrington, Wijnaendts, and Marrack Goulding. I personally spoke to many of them, and showed them photographs and evidence."

Commenting on the role of Lord Owen [cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] and his stance toward the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Mladic says: "I personally respect Mr. Owen as a politician. He is not a lord for nothing. I think that he comes from a very solid diplomatic school. We have not met. If Mr. Owen finds it appropriate, and if his aim is indeed to find a peaceful way to solve the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and stop the suffering of Serbs, Muslims, and Croats, we can talk about anything. But I do not want to hold any talks about it if I am constantly being accused of creating a greater Serbia. I am neither Czar Dusan nor can I be. It is perhaps a mistake of earlier generations for not having created a Great Serbia, not Serbia, but a state for the Serbian people. We are perhaps the only nation in the world, on the globe, which, at difficult times, whenever we are attacked, after we win wars, incorporated into our state those who had previously been trying to kill us, rape our daughters and mothers. It is not my intention to create a greater Serbia, nor am I doing it, nor am I

restoring the kingdom of Czar Dusan or the Byzantine Empire. I am simply defending my people. I am with them, sharing their fate. Let us now see what happens. I hope that everything will be all right."

Commenting on "the increasingly frequent threats of military intervention," and claims that Vance and Owen "are buying time until the situation is ripe" for intervention, Gen. Mladic says: "I am personally not afraid of intervention in Bosnia. Perhaps it would be good, as I have already said once, to deal a bit with an outside enemy. I would like the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina to stop and for it never to happen again anywhere. I personally think that Mr. Vance and Mr. Owen have good intentions, and that as experienced politicians they are trying to find a way to a peaceful settlement of the crisis. I really wish them success in this. I think that our side will offer them everything they need to succeed in this, as has been the case in the past."

"If they think, however, that they can discuss peace while the official armed forces of the state of Croatia are present on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, or before Alija Izetbegovic rescinds his declaration of war, there will be no talks about peace, that is, peace will be impossible to attain."

"As for intervention, I must tell you that perhaps there are forces in the world that would like to intervene. Perhaps some countries would like to get rid of a section of their people or individuals who do not suit them. I have said this before and I will say it again: They can come to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but the question is: how will they leave it?"

According to Mladic, "the arrival of foreign armed formations in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina with the aim of confronting the Serbian people would mean a catastrophe of wider proportions. We will not allow ourselves to be an extinct nation. If we have to die and disappear, then an enormous black hole would be created in the world, into which many people would fall. I would not like this to happen, either for the sake of my people or for the sake of other peoples."

"I think that those who know what the army and wars are would not even think about the possibility of intervening in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, at least not against us, the Army, and the Serbian people in the Serbian Republic. This would be a very big adventure."

Asked to comment on newspaper allegations that he was a war criminal, Gen. Mladic says that "I do not feel like a war criminal, because I did not start the war, either in the Republic of the Serbian Krajina or in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. I only stood up to defend my people and I have a legitimate right to do so. This is also my duty. This is what I studied, how to defend my people. If I had been a surgeon, I would probably be working as a surgeon, and if I were a journalist, I would probably be sitting in your chair now. But I am an officer, a professional soldier, and I was born on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. My people

are being attacked. Unfortunately, the Serbian people are at war for the fifth time this century. Even though we on the western side of the Drina and south of the Sava are alone, we will survive."

Commenting on claims that the war would end quickly and that the UN sanctions would be lifted if Serbian President Milosevic retired from politics, Mladic says at the end of the program: "President Milosevic did not start the war, nor has he had influence on it. He has not been conducting it and he has nothing to do with the situation in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are grateful to him for providing us with the appropriate medical and humanitarian aid. After all, he, Serbia—that is to say, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Montenegro—have also offered this kind of help to the Muslim side. We were not astonished by this at all. In fact, this encouraged us. Why did they reject it? They rejected it because they are getting what they need from various Islamic countries and western European countries, even more than they need.

"I would not want to comment on it, it is not for me to comment about the president of any country—this is a different country—but I wish President Milosevic all the best, as I do to other people, so that they can lead people toward peace and not war."

According to Mladic, "the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina can stop only if the armed forces of Croatia withdraw. If they do not, the war will have to go on until their are defeated or withdraw. No individual in the world could be accused of this war, not Milosevic nor Bush, nor anyone else."

Iranian Plane Takes Tuzla Wounded to Tehran

*LD2811174892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 92*

[Text] Shortly after 1300 today, an Iranian plane with wounded people from Tuzla left Split for Iran where medical treatment for the wounded will continue. The

plane, which landed at Split yesterday and unloaded its cargo of humanitarian aid, was scheduled to leave for Iran immediately, but due to a technical fault the flight was delayed until today.

Presence of German, Iranian Experts Alleged

*AU2811203592 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Nov 92*

[Report by Rada Djokic from Sarajevo]

[Text] There were fierce clashes on the Sarajevo battlefield this afternoon. The Muslim and Croatian formations carried out a fierce infantry and artillery attack at Zuc and at the positions of the Serbian Army between Vogosca and Rajlovac. The Muslim heavy artillery pounded Mrkovici, Radava, and Kromolj on two occasions. Five Serbian fighters and a few civilians sustained serious wounds in these attacks, Serbian military sources in Lukavica report.

We have learned in today's talks with commander of the Serbian Army General Lieutenant Ratko Mladic that arms for the Muslim and Croatian forces in former Bosnia-Herzegovina are coming from Germany and Hungary via Croatian territory. Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic [President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] has sent his military envoy to Hungary to purchase arms there.

The Serbian military authorities continue to closely monitor the presence of German and Iranian senior officers on Mt. Igman near Sarajevo. They are preparing a new offensive at the Serbian positions together with the Muslim and Croatian forces. The Serbian army is strengthening its defense on this part of the front.

The Muslim media and authorities still keep the visit of German and Iranian military experts on Mt. Igman shrouded in the greatest secrecy.

General Blames Mladic For Failure of Talks

AU2711173292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Excerpts] We can now carry parts of the statement by General Janko Bobetko [chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army] given on Croatian television concerning yesterday's negotiations:

[Begin recording] The decision was made that we should take part in such talks, but that the representatives of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and Bosnia should be present, because there can be no talks without the participation of Bosnia as a sovereign state.

When I arrived in Sarajevo and met General Phillipe Morillon [UN Protection Forces commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina], whom I know from talks [words indistinct], and I asked him two questions. The first question was why representatives of the HVO and Bosnia were not present, and second, who Ratko Mladic [Serbian commander] was representing. Bosnia-Herzegovina is an internationally recognized sovereign state [words indistinct]. Second, that Mladic cannot represent the Serbs and the part of the forces with which he is destroying a part of Croatia, and [words indistinct] some kind of a unit that is presenting a legal viewpoint. [passage omitted]

The territory of sovereign Croatia is being attacked daily from that of sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is aggression against the sovereign Republic of Croatia according to all international criteria. My objection to General Morillon was that it was amazing that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] [word indistinct] reacts mildly or not at all to such flagrant violations of Croatian territory. My approach to these talks was as following: First, all hostilities should be stopped by both sides on the lines that our forces hold now by midnight on 29 November. General Morillon accepted that as an absolutely constructive and [word indistinct] proposal. My second proposal was that Croatia [word indistinct] that part of its forces which are on its borders from the Neretva River to the Montenegrin coast, inclusively for the protection of the vital interests of sovereignty because it was from these territories that Croatia was attacked and destroyed.

Mladic, after entering these talks on his own, rather primitive way, as he is an unruly man, more of an adventurer than a soldier, insisted that Croatia had large forces in Bosnia, and it was his assertion all the time that [word indistinct] Croatia had in Bosnia [word indistinct]. That is absurd. It is not true, but he needed that [words indistinct] to accuse Croatia that way. When I proposed that the truce should go into effect at a certain time, and that it should be done as I had proposed, he was against such a solution because he was not there for such a solution. [words indistinct] General Morillon and I signed an agreement that on 28 November all hostilities should be stopped, but that man Mladic did not sign it

[words indistinct]. Therefore it is untrue that I did not sign it, I did, and so did General Morillon [word indistinct] [end recording]

Hadzic Appeals to Butrus-Ghali on 'Raids'

LD2811182792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Nov (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], sent a letter today to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali asking him to use his influence to suppress the Croatian aggression against the RSK. Krajina news agency ISKRA has reported.

"The RSK is subject to almost daily raids by the Croatian Army which has killed 268 citizens of Krajina since the deployment of the UN Protection Forces alone", Hadzic writes.

He stressed that, unlike the Croatian Army which has violated the cease-fire over 700 times, the RSK forces have never crossed into Croatian territory," ISKRA reports.

Hadzic assessed that statements by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, to the effect that the RSK is part of Croatia and all that Serbs in the Krajinas can expect is "special status", has prejudiced the outcome of political negotiations.

"If the Croatian aggression is not suppressed, Krajina's state bodies will find it difficult to keep the situation under control, something of which I am obliged to warn you," Hadzic stressed in his letter to Butrus-Ghali.

Zagreb TV Views Possibility of Balkan War

LD2711231792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Commentary by Jozo Curic]

[Text] The conference in Istanbul was marked by a rapprochement of 10 countries. Croatia was praised by Islamic diplomacy with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati stating that Iran, Bosnia, and Croatia have decided to strengthen their relations. Croatia is increasingly a factor of stability in the Bosnian drama which is growing more and more difficult.

However, the West is not afraid because of Bosnia. London, Paris, and Athens were alarmed by President Bush who warned them about Kosovo and Macedonia. While Yeltsin's and Kozyrev's pro-West policy is under fire from the communists, the CIA reports that Serbia is preparing an attack against Kosovo even before Clinton takes Bush's place. CIA Director Robert Gates warns of a possible war which could encompass Macedonia, Albania, and Turkey. That is why [UN Secretary General] Butrus Butrus-Ghali is acting quickly to send UN forces to Macedonia's borders.

How to stop a Balkan war? There have been no real peace agreements. Vance, Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia], Mock [Austrian Foreign Minister], Cetin [Turkish Foreign Minister]—they are all disappointed. Panic wants to lift the sanctions while Serbia is embarking on a new military offensive. It seems that only NATO has decided to use force in order to stop Serb flights. Safe havens in Bosnia, imposed by the UN Security Council with the use of military force, financed by Arab countries, would also help.

So much for Bosnia. But what if Serbia moves against Kosovo? It is certain that someone would intervene militarily against the Serbian Army and that intervention would not be able to be stopped even by the pan-Slavic Russian military leadership. In this case, Croatian diplomacy could help the West by exerting strong pressure against Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Government Raises Price of Electricity, Oil

LD2511210092 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] At a session today, the Croatian Government endorsed a 35 percent price increase in electricity for domestic consumers and for public service street lighting and a 65 increase price increase in electricity for other consumers.

The government has also endorsed up to 56 percent average price increase of basic oil derivatives. According to this decision, the price of light heating oil and special light heating oil can be raised by at most 35 percent, and the price of other oil derivatives can be raised on average by 70 percent.

Assembly Adopts Draft Budget Law

LD2711212692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Excerpts] The Croatian Assembly was in session today. Delegates spent most of the time discussing three of the 10 draft laws adopted today: on state subsidies, road safety, and the state budget. Kreso Zabavec and Zlatko Kuretic report on these and other details from today's work of the Croatian Assembly: [passage omitted]

[Kuretic] Delegates to the Croatian Assembly also adopted today amendments and addenda to the state budget for 1992. A debate on the rescheduling of the budget is seldom a brief one and about a dozen delegates took the floor today. The budget for this year—based on the assumption that inflation will be slightly over 200 percent—was originally fixed at about 270 billion Croatian dinars. The final figure adopted today is just over 562 billion Croatian dinars. This amount is slightly more than double the originally established draft budget. About 60 to 70 percent of this sum is being spent on defense, on the cost of refugees, and on rebuilding parts of Croatia which have been destroyed. [passage omitted]

Permission Granted to Reopen Dubrovnik Airport

LD2811173292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Excerpt] During a visit to Dubrovnik by Ivica Mudrinic, minister of transport, maritime affairs, and communications, and Drazen Ramljak, deputy director of flight control, permission was granted to use Dubrovnik's Cilipi Airport, which means that the airport is open for domestic and international flights. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Rupel: 'Sarajevo Must Be Saved'*AU2511215092 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 25 Nov 92*

[Statement by Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel on the Istanbul summit of Balkan states in Ljubljana on 25 November—recorded]

[Text] We met in Istanbul today. All the participants—and you know who they are—agreed that Sarajevo must be saved first. If Sarajevo falls, then Bosnia-Herzegovina falls, and if Bosnia-Herzegovina falls, then so does Macedonia, Kosovo, and others as well. I think that this is a well-established fact in Europe now.

In a way, this is a message for the next conference that will be held in Riyadh on 1 December. It seems to me that some 40-odd countries are going to stand up for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I believe that the pressure on the United States might mean a possible salvation for Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are keeping our fingers crossed that Sarajevo will be saved because this is the capital of a very important European state.

Slovenia presented its proposals, which we previously proposed in Graz—namely, that we would visit Sarajevo and come to an agreement with the Americans.

Regarding the visit to Sarajevo, we proposed that the first day of the CSCE session be held there. I cannot tell right now what the working conditions will be like. I am afraid that they will not be ideal because, for example, [Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister] Silajdzic could not attend the conference because of the fierce fighting.

Turkey's Approach to Bosnia-Herzegovina Supported*LD2411192092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 24 Nov 92*

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Nov (TANJUG)—A meeting of the heads of diplomatic service of several Balkan countries, Austria, and Hungary organized by Turkey in Ankara will also be attended by Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel. Slovenia's top officials are supporting all of Turkey's demands and proposals for resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Although Slovenia's political circles have refrained from encouraging those advocating international military intervention over the past two weeks, these days they are again demanding the use of force without delay. In so doing Slovenia's politicians are not mentioning the possibly far-reaching consequences of such a move.

Catholic Church 'Influential Political Factor'*LD2611135392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 26 Nov 92*

[By Igor Saranovic]

[Text] Ljubljana, November 26 (TANJUG)—The Roman Catholic Church is evidently becoming an increasingly influential political factor in the former Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

After it openly advocated Slovenia's secession from the former common state for decades, the Catholic Church has now taken an active role in the election campaign in the independent state of Slovenia, urging Catholics, but also all other members of the electorate, to cast their votes for the Christian Democratic Party.

The top organ of the church authorities, the bishops' conference, these days announced its guidelines, or more precisely, directives, on how Catholics and other citizens should behave during the December election campaign. The essence of the idea is that the people should place their trust in those who have a correct stand regarding Christian values and the Catholic Church. In other words, votes should be given to the Christian Democrats, or the party which is the choice of the Catholic Church.

The election program of the Roman Catholic Church of Slovenia, which was signed by Ljubljana Archbishop and Metropolitan Dr. Alojzije Sustar, urges the media to report in the spirit of professional ethics and the program of the Society for the Democratization of Public Media—an organization which is under the influence of the clergy.

The bishops' conference also assessed that the current Slovenian parliament should be dissolved since it has preserved certain characteristics from the nondemocratic times. It does not say, however, what the characteristics are.

The influential Catholic lobby in Slovenia, which is closely connected to the Vatican, will doubtless try to topple the government of Janez Drnomssek at the forthcoming elections and return Christian Democrats to the helm of the state. This would set conditions for [words indistinct] with members of similar parties in [words indistinct].

The Slovenian Christian Democrats, the most influential party of the former DEMOS [United Opposition] coalition, had a large majority in parliament and their leader Lojze Peterle was the first prime minister of the independent state of Slovenia.

The political ambitions of the Catholic Church in Slovenia are evident also in the constant presence of its head, Dr. Sustar, on popularity lists published by the media, which is probably a precedent in the world of politics.

Federal

Deputy Prime Minister Kovac Resigns

LD3011115392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 30 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Government Vice President Oskar Kovac resigned today. The text of his resignation letter to Federal Prime Minister Panic says:

Dear Mr. President, as I announced to you on 28 November I submit my resignation from the post of vice president of the Government of the FRY.

The program on the basis of which we deputies of the FRY Assembly elected you and which represents an agreement between us did not provide for your nomination at the Serbian [presidential] elections. As my party also nominated a candidate for president at these elections you forced me to face a moral dilemma which I can solve only by this resignation. I will continue to support the peace policy and the economic program which we prepared. I would like to express my gratitude for your trust and to ask you to appoint a person to whom I will hand over my official duties.

Economics Minister Resigns Over Panic Candidacy

LD2911184992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Minister for Economy Nikola Sainovic revealed this evening that he has tendered his irrevocable resignation from his post. Minister without Portfolio Radmila Milentijevic tendered her resignation yesterday.

In a letter to Prime Minister Milan Panic, Sainovic voiced his disagreement with "the prime minister's euphoric election campaign," saying that its objective was to topple "in any way whatsoever anyone" who expressed their disapproval in the government. Sainovic also said he disagreed with the practice of, as he put it, "introducing foreigners and interests of foreign powers in the government policies in unprecedented manner."

Here is Sainovic's letter to Panic:

"Mr. Panic,

"I accepted to be a minister in your government at a critical moment for the survival of our nation and the new Yugoslavia and out of my sincere desire to serve the national interest and help the country get of the crisis as soon as possible. Instead of a government of experts, we now have only your euphoric election campaign with only one objective: to topple at any cost and in any way whatsoever those who expressed their disapproval of you. In an unprecedented manner, foreigners and the interest of foreign powers have been introduced in the government policies, which permanently puts into jeopardy our future and the survival

of our nation and threatens to bring the state in an unacceptable state of dependency on foreign factors. This is contrary to my convictions. I do not want to be a part of that, and in this way I am tendering my irrevocable resignation to you. In the past three years, I have been testing my convictions against difficult human destinies, which are making up the current drama of the Serbian people, and I have remained loyal to them."

Former Minister Gives Reasons for Resignation

AU2911204992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Interview with Radmila Milentijevic, former minister without portfolio in the Federal Yugoslav Government by Gordana Popovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Popovic] Mrs. Milentijevic, what is the reason for your resignation—the overall policy of Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic, in his national policy perhaps, or only some of the irritating points of his policy?

[Milentijevic] Well, you know, there were irritating points all the time. However, when you sum it all up, this is a policy that is unacceptable from my point of view. The final irritating blow in this policy was Mr. Panic taking part in the electoral campaign in Serbia where he took the side of this or that party against other parties. I finally see now that he intends to be a candidate himself, either a candidate of some party or an independent candidate. In any case, such a policy is unacceptable to me, and I did not want to be and could no longer be a part of the government that was pursuing such a policy.

You know, it was not my task to concern myself with the foreign policy but to use our foreign policy to abolish our negative image in the media by using the media, by presenting the truths about our side. I expected a far clearer and, from the national point of view, more complex foreign policy, which we have been lacking.

On the other hand, I also expected greater assistance from the Ministry of Information in information science, but neither the former nor the latter worked out. The foreign policy was zigzagging, and the bottom line was that Mr. Panic's position was not acceptable to me. Of course, he is the chief, and if I do not accept his policy the only thing I can do is resign, which I did.

On the other hand, the growing disinformation about the Serbian people in Bosnia and the Serbian people in general has been prolonged, and our Ministry of Information, which is led by Mr. Perisic, did absolutely nothing besides one report for the United Nations that they had submitted, that is to say, probably helped to compile. This report was attacked by Mr. Bulajic and some other experts here. Why? Because it was not compiled in cooperation with these experts, because it contains numerous erroneous data which would probably suffice to discredit the entire document in the eyes of the world.

[Popovic] Is it still too early to ask about your future plans?

[Milentijevic] Well, I will return to my Serbian nation. When I go back to America I must examine ways to resolve the problem with the permit, the license [not further identified]. We must acquire this, as otherwise we cannot function because of the sanctions.

Panic Criticizes Milosevic Over Resignations

LD3011121892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 30 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—In response to the resignations of federal ministers Radmila Milentijevic and Nikola Sainovic, Prime Minister Milan Panic's office sent the following statement to TANJUG:

Prime Minister Milan Panic expressed great regret because of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's attempts to undermine his government. Two recent resignations of federal ministers were obviously inspired by Milosevic's fears that Panic will be a strong opponent during the 20 December election for Serbian president. These resignations were handed in by two persons who have very close contacts with Slobodan Milosevic and the Socialist Party of Serbia. This only represents Milosevic's unconvincing attempt to undermine the government of reconciliation and hope in his feverish struggle to stay in power at any cost. In accordance with his rule in Serbia, Milosevic is now trying to undermine the Federal Government for his own political goals. Milan Panic's election campaign will be based on the issues of the destruction of our economy, the ruining of our country's international reputation, the effect of the sanctions, and all other destructive results of the war on our society, oriented, of course, toward the future and resolutely committed to repairing as soon as possible the damage caused by the current erroneous policies of Slobodan Milosevic.

Cosic Wants Parliament To Solve Building Dispute

LD2611095392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2350 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) Dobrica Cosic requested an urgent meeting of the Yugoslav Parliament to deal with the dispute over the federal police building, seized by Republic of Serbia police, Belgrade's daily POLITIKA writes in its Thursday [26 November] issue.

The paper says Cosic wrote on Wednesday to the presidents of both parliamentary chambers proposing that in this context threatening of the country's constitutional order be considered.

Serbia's police on October 18 took control of the federal police building. The court has ordered it to be unblocked by November 24.

A formal handover was carried out on Tuesday, but the federal police employees, nevertheless, could not come to their working stations on Wednesday, POLITIKA recalls.

Serbian police took control of the federal police building claiming it was granted permission by a court decision

several months previously. As the dispute over the ownership was still under court proceedings, a Belgrade court ordered as a temporary measure that republican police evacuate the building and allow the federal interior minister and his staff entry and work in this building.

At a recent press conference Cosic described as violence the act of taking the building. In an interview to POLITIKA on Sunday he announced he would inform the Yugoslav Parliament about the "threats to the constitutional order" if republican police did not respect the court order and unblock the said building.

Cosic Seeks Aid to Repair Damaged Mojkovac Dam

LD2511150192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1321 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic on Wednesday [25 November] proposed to the Federal Government to provide material aid for repairing the Mojkovac dam on the Tara, in agreement with the Government of Montenegro, since the dam could release toxic waste and pollute some of the biggest rivers in the Balkans, TANJUG learned at the president's cabinet.

The Mojkovac dam is 600m long and 12m high. It was built 20 years ago as a reservoir for waste from the local lead and zinc mine.

United Nations (U.N.) experts have established that the waste deposits are 12m thick and cover an area of 200,000 square meters.

Heavy rainfall in mid-October dangerously damaged the dam foundations over a length of 150m.

The U.N. Sanctions Committee on Wednesday allowed 134,000 dollars for emergency repairs on the dam.

Official of the Geneva-based office of the U.N. disaster relief Hans Zimmermann told the AP news agency that Italy would deliver 1,500 steel construction blocks on Thursday for the temporary reinforcement of the dam.

Inflation Rate for Nov Rises 33.3 Percent

LD2711150992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 27 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 27 (TANJUG)—The November inflation rate in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia amounted 33.3 percent, assistant general director of the Federal Statistics Institute, Mirjana Rankovic, told a press conference in Belgrade on Friday [27 November].

According to Rankovic, this puts the annual inflation in Yugoslavia at 16,242.4 percent.

She said that this month's costs of living were up on October by 36.3 percent, compared to last November, they rose by 16,000 percent, while they increased by 13,230 percent since the start of the year.

Djukic Outlines Tasks To End War in Bosnia

AU2811170592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Excerpts] A two-day scientific meeting entitled *The World and the Yugoslav Crisis* ended in Belgrade today. The relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the international institutions were discussed today, as was Yugoslavia's continuity. Most of the participants in the debate are of the opinion that Yugoslavia should persist in the efforts to rebuild, preserve, or establish its presence in the international institutions, while the issue of continuity should be tackled as a state and legal issue and not as a political one. Azra Nuhefendic reports:

[Begin recording] [Nuhefendic] [passage omitted] Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic expressed the belief that we have created an obstacle out of the continuity issue in communications with the world. This issue has been politicized and manipulated, he believes, and the best proof that the continuity issue has been transformed into a political and not a state and legal one is the manner the champions of unconditional and absolute state and legal continuity are assuming in the world.

Minister Djukic spoke of three basic requirements for resolving the problems we are now experiencing. The first is to create a state whose borders would be observed, the second is to fully internationalize the issue of the Serbs in Croatia, and the third is to internationalize the issue of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

What should be done for the FRY to become a welcome factor in this region? Ilija Djukic says:

[Djukic] We must offer peace. We must contribute to ending the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We must do our best so that by respecting ourselves and the reality that exists on our territory we normalize relations and pursue serious prospects for resolving this issue, and proceed toward the normalization of relations with the new and old neighbors.

We should do the above-mentioned and not stoop below what is in the interest of the state and national dignity—this expression is often used. We should also lean on democratic forces in our neighboring countries. They do exist. This is a task that requires patience and a detailed approach, but we must lean on them.

We must also lean on certain state interests of our new neighbors. If we are stating publicly that we do not have any territorial pretensions, that is, any border problems, then we must build our policy on this fact. [passage omitted] [end recording].

Commentator Warns Against 'Balkan Storm'

AU2811191292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 92

[Commentary by Slavoljub Susic]

[Text] The military literature defines a demonstration of force as an action of a threatening or deceptive character undertaken against a country to achieve a certain military or political goal.

It is, of course, difficult to differentiate between what is a military and what a political goal in the foreign factors' activities against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], bearing in mind that this has been deliberately obliterated by pushing into the foreground the alleged humanitarian and other initiatives.

The advocates of an unyielding approach toward the Serbo-Montenegrin state, whose formation has obviously halted the process of total Balkanization of the territory of former Yugoslavia, most frequently stress that the measures of blockade have been introduced to make Serbia stop the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and ethnic cleansing of the conquered territories. The officials of the most influential countries that create new international relations who are issuing such harsh condemnations must surely be aware of the real situation on these territories, that there is not a single FRY soldier present on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that besides the local Croats and Muslims there are approximately 60,000 members of the armed formations of the neighboring republic of Croatia fighting against the Serbs, who are one of the three autochthonous ethnic communities in this former Yugoslav federal unit.

The statements by the representatives of the U.S. diplomacy demonstrate that increased pressure upon Serbia and Montenegro is aimed at triggering changes in the Serbian political leadership, although the list of demands is much longer. This is more of a congruence of economic, political, and military strategic interests of the creators of the so-called new world order with the geopolitical aspirations of the former Austro-Hungarian and German countries, with the undivided support of the Holy See in Vatican, to accomplish what they could not accomplish during the two world wars. The support to Islamic fundamentalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sandzak, Kosovo, and Metohija and destabilization of ethnic relations in Vojvodina is connected with this, all in the name of alleged concern for human rights.

The military pressure upon Serbia and Montenegro, that is to say upon the FRY, as means of demonstrating power in the international relations is reflected in the amassment of armed forces and military maneuvers along our state borders, concentration of large navy formations of the NATO pact, WEU, and U.S. Sixth Fleet, and increasingly more open threats of military intervention.

It is, of course, known how we would react if the helmeted foreigners were to cross the state borders or sail into our territorial waters. The possible aggressors know that our defense potentials are not belittled, which is an additional reason why they are not willing to embark upon a military adventure full of uncertainty, and that any sort of a Balkan storm would not be the same as was the storm in the Arabic sand.

It would be good if they were also convinced about our sincere efforts to resolve the problems on this territory in a peaceful manner.

Commentator Assesses Army's Role in Democracy

AU2811155092 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Nov 92 p 7

[Commentary by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Democratic and Other Objectives"]

[Text] The decision of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army to drastically restrict conscription was made public just as the election campaign was getting into full swing. At the same time, NATO and the EC are preparing to forcefully "implement" the latest UN Security Council resolution on Yugoslavia.

We are, therefore, faced with a crucial military dilemma in a hermetically sealed state: Should we respect those principles of a democratic state that imply the removal of suspicions about party inclinations (or lack of inclinations) toward the Army of Yugoslavia, or should we work on a rational gathering of our strength in the face of danger, which is real this time? A naval blockade is an act of war, and unwanted incidents occurring under such circumstances can have tragic consequences. Everything is in its place: There is a concentration of power, uneasiness, and the international public has been prepared by the media. It would only take a spark to completely change the meaning of the "supervision of sanctions." There exist, however, several circumstances that uphold the view that the worst will not happen after all and that the Yugoslav election games will pass in an atmosphere of relative stability, at least as far as any real action from the side is concerned.

The grounds for such a statement are embedded primarily in the interest of the West in awaiting the results of the early elections, and depending on the outcome, to prescribe the therapy. This therapy, even when everything is taken into account, cannot be predicted. However, one thing is clear: A certain military pressure will remain present, even after the scrapping of [Albanian President] Mr. Berisha's alternative of the destruction of Belgrade and the destruction of Serbia's vital potential. The danger, therefore, lies in the military-minded logic of certain Western leaders that is more pronounced than the military appetites of individual generals. Such statements should not be underestimated but should also not be overestimated, because the option of a military intervention in Yugoslavia has already been constructively reviewed by U.S. General Colin Powell (who dismissed it). It is to no avail to try to draw a parallel between a Powell and a Berisha, because when Berisha spoke about the bombing of Belgrade, he had in mind aircraft under the command of General Powell.

Under circumstances that are quite unpredictable, the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army has opted for flexible caution, but also for an indisputably democratic step. People with better memories will surely remember

the election campaign weeks of 1990, when some of the bards of the opposition accused the cream of the Yugoslav People's Army of showing preferences concerning conscription, both during the campaign and on the actual day of the elections.

Such accusations were then ignored, or they were clumsily dismissed later on. The suspicions of the newborn opposition, in a situation in which there was a lack of tolerance, tact, and good taste on all sides, were predominantly based on the stereotype of a "natural affiliation" of Yugoslav People's Army members with parties with a leftist orientation. Admittedly, it was pretty hard to refute such charges with arguments, since this was the tragic time of massive pressure on members of the Yugoslav People's Army to join the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia.

There are reliable indications that things are not the same today. Much has changed since. The Yugoslav Army is organized on a strictly supraparty basis. There is no more "political instruction," or unbearable ideological drilling. The Yugoslav Army has achieved an enviable level of political neutrality, which implies an absolute readiness to cooperate with everyone in the profession and pronounced rejection of the aforementioned inclinations. Of course, cases of "deviation" cannot be completely dismissed, but they are either expressions of leftist conservatism or "rightist modernism," something that is usually explained in terms of a dilemma between the profession and politics.

The essence of the General Staff's decision is clear: The Army is not doing it to defend itself from likely criticism but for its contribution to the democratic unraveling of the crises to be in the sphere of common sense, rather than in the obsolete traditions of an ideological army. At the same time, it wants to demonstrate that (will it be understood that way) it is the army of all parties and citizens equally. Only in this way will the citizens who are in the Army not support one party or another, or be fans of any.

The electoral restriction of conscripts (except in cases of extreme urgency) was also made possible by the very good response of the autumn's contingent of recruits. This is an encouraging fact, even in circumstances that do not guarantee serenity. At the same time, the domestic military industry is somehow managing to keep up with the requirements of the moment. While visiting the "Krusik" plant, General Panic announced a promotion of medium-range missiles (up to 600 km).

"If they know that we have them," said Panic, "they will not attack us."

We believe that they are not really going to attack us, but let them be aware of our electoral objective.

Serbia

Candidates Submit Nominations for President

LD3011084892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0820
GMT 30 Nov 92

[Text] Belgrade, November 30 (TANJUG)—Applications for 13 candidates for the president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia were submitted by the deadline at 00:01 hours local time on Monday [30 November].

The submitted applications include those for current Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) Vuk Draskovic, President of the Party of National Concord Blazo Perovic and volunteer in the war in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) Dragan Vasiljkovic, popularly called Captain Dragan.

The applications for current President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic and private banker Jezdimir Vasiljevic were submitted on Saturday, and for leader of the opposition National Party (NS) Milan Paroski on Friday.

Five of the applications are incomplete.

The republican electoral commission is on Monday to draw up the list of candidates for the president of Serbia who is to be elected on December 20.

Dragan Running for President

LD2611105192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1827 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—Captain Dragan will stand at the forthcoming presidential elections in Serbia. (Captain Dragan is a paramilitary leader whose formations were prominent during clashes in Krajina and Slavonia; he was the chief instructor of the Krajina Army; his real name is Daniel Sneden and he was born in Belgrade; he spent a lot of time in Australia and reportedly has a criminal record there; he is also the leader of the Association of 1991-92 War Veterans)

In a statement for TANJUG, Captain Dragan's secretary Aleksandar Matejic said that 10,000 signatures, necessary to nominate someone as Serbian presidential candidate, have been collected. [passage omitted]

Draskovic Begins Election Campaign

AU2711212892 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 92 p 6

[Report by S. Todorovic report: "Should Depos Win, the War Will Stop in Two Months"]

[Text] Negotin, 21 Nov—Should the Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos] win the coming elections, all the fighting on the territory of the ex-Yugoslavia will cease within two months and soon the sanctions against Serbia and Yugoslavia will be lifted. This will also be the basic condition for the revival of Serbia based on the realistic program of the democratic opposition. According to this

program, as early as 1996, no pension in Serbia will be lower than 1000 German marks, while at the same time some 500,000 new apartments will have been built, as well as 800,000 people employed. This is what Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, said to some 1,500 people at a pre-election rally held today, in a recreational hall in Negotin.

Draskovic believes that the conditions for a Depos victory and the fulfillment of this optimistic plan, have already been satisfied. He also said that Depos encompasses some 85 percent of all opposition parties and about 60 percent of the members of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. In Depos, said Draskovic, lie the brains and hopes of Serbia.

"If we stop the war, the world will applaud us," said Draskovic, while sanctions will catch up with the stubborn ones who do not want the war to end. Moreover, if the need for such action should arise, the new Serbian Army will be able to intervene. A powerful and democratic Serbia will easily rebuild the shattered relationships with the other peoples of former Yugoslavia, while at the same time protecting the Serbian population in these areas. Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a state comprised of three equal state bodies, while Croatia will have to guarantee the Serbs their rights there, since the question of Croat rights in Bosnia-Herzegovina will already have been taken care of.

The only thing that could actually prevent the democratic option in Serbia from winning the elections (and which has prevented it from doing so hitherto), is the so-called "box of lies," or the pro-regime Belgrade Television.

However, should the regime currently in power win by any chance, the sanctions will be "maximally stepped up." If that should be the case, claims Draskovic, Montenegro will secede from Serbia, and the ruling regime will start killing our Montenegrin brothers under the pretext of "defending our Serbian sea...."

Today, Draskovic will pay a visit to the villages of Radujevac, Prahovo, Kobisnjica, and Bukovce situated in the Negotin region, as well as giving a speech in the village of Salas near Zajecar.

[Box, p 6]

Rugova - Ally to Milosevic

By not taking part in the elections Rugova is practically proving that he is a Milosevic ally, and that he does not want to beat him - said Bogoljub Pejic, vice president of the Serbian Renewal Movement. As long as the Milosevic regime stays in power, Rugova will not give up his fiction called the Republic of Kosovo ("Kosovo Republika"). He is aware of the fact, that if Milosevic goes, the world will stop swallowing the lies he feeds them, namely that ethnic Albanians in Kosovo are endangered and that Kosovo is Albanian land.

Government Urges Albanians To Vote in Elections

*LD2511222192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019
GMT 25 Nov 92*

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 25 (TANJUG)—Authorities of the Republic of Serbia on Wednesday [25 November] called ethnic Albanians in this Yugoslav federal unit to resist their separatist leaders and turn out for the forthcoming early elections.

The government of Serbia, it was said at a news conference here, has drafted a ten-point declaration warranting all citizens their human rights and the national minority rights. It has conveyed the draft to the republic's parliament for endorsement.

Serbian Vice-Premier Nebojsa Maljkovic quoted the declaration as stating that Serbia would continue fulfilling and applying international standards as regards the development of democratic institutions and social relations within which all citizens are equal. Serbia would also perform all international obligations and CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) principles in the domain of human rights and national minority rights.

The declaration also states that the national minorities in Kosovo and Metohija—southern Serbian province where ethnic Albanians contribute some 90 per cent to the total population—may exercise their rights just as these rights may be exercised by all the national minorities elsewhere in the republic.

Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic pointed out that it was the abuse of rights, not the rights, that posed a problem in Kosovo. Leaders of the separatist movement in Kosovo were boycotting their human and minority rights, such as elections and education presented in their own language, for the purpose of achieving their ultimate goal—the secession of this province from Serbia and its merger with Albania, Jovanovic said.

Jovanovic said that the most democratic solution for Kosovo problems was ethnic Albanians' participation in the forthcoming early elections.

Serbian Justice Minister Zoran Cetkovic recalled that "as of the new year, all special measures are to be abolished in Kosovo" while the "regulations passed in the past period shall become legally invalid."

For the formation of provincial authority organs, said he, the participation of ethnic Albanians in the elections would be absolutely necessary.

The republic's authorities introduced "provisional measures" in Kosovo in 1990 when ethnic Albanian deputies in the provincial assembly proclaimed Kosovo a republic and began to set up parallel organs of authority.

Milosevic Meets With Elie Wiesel

*LD2811040592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0106
GMT 28 Nov 92*

[Text] Belgrade November 27 (TANJUG)—In a talk with Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel on Friday [27 November] president of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said the aim was to have the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina stop immediately. Most of the talk was devoted to ways of ending the ethnic war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Milosevic said that all three warring sides (Serbs, Croats, and Moslems) must accept control of respect of ceasefire and that their negotiations can continue only when peace was established. Armed conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the Moslem-Croat coalition was aided by several tens of thousand of troops from the neighboring, also seceded Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, have been going on for nearly eight months.

Milosevic categorically rejected the possibility that anyone in Serbia could support the "bloody idea of ethnic cleansing," for which the Serb side in Bosnia-Herzegovina was being accused of. He said there was no ethnic cleansing on the territory of Serbia, and that in Bosnia-Herzegovina there was civil war in which all three sides have become equally brutal. He said there were no angels on the one side and devils on the other. He was of the opinion that all three sides should be encouraged to sit at the negotiating table, to understand that a peaceful solution should be found. He recalled that Serbia has since the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina pointed out it was prepared to accept any solution reached by the three peoples there.

The Serbian president repeated the stand that the early recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the international community has contributed to the flaring up of interethnic clashes. Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized on April 7 at the request of the Croato-Moslem coalition, and without the consent of the third constituent people (Serbs), something that ran counter to the republics' constitution.

Milosevic again rejected the stands that Serbia has committed aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that in this republic there was not one Yugoslav soldier, and stressed that this has been borne out also by official U.N. reports.

The Serbian president denied also that Belgrade has militarily aided Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said Serbia was not at war and added that Serbia's aid to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina was humanitarian and without discrimination—it went not only to Serbs, but also to Moslems and Jews.

Wiesel arrived in Yugoslavia at the invitation of Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic.

Parliament Adopts Human Rights Declaration

*LD2711201992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806
GMT 27 Nov 92*

[Text] Belgrade, November 27 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia on Friday [27 November] adopted a declaration on human rights and the rights of national minorities.

The declaration points out that the Republic of Serbia consistently fulfills and will continue to fulfill international obligations and standards in building up democratic institutions and respect of equality of citizens.

Noting that only Serbia, of all the former Yugoslav republics, has implemented territorial autonomy within its state (the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija), the declaration says that Serbia is constitutionally defined as a state of all its citizens, not [word indistinct] nations. This does not allow room for discrimination on the basis of nationality.

Besides, Serbia guarantees additional rights to national minorities and the rights of the ethnic Albanian minority are broader-based than the standards of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the declaration says.

Ethnic Albanians are ensured schooling in their native language, the use of their mother tongue in public communication, right to health care, freedom of religious practice, information, media in their native language, freedom of political association and participation in public life, founding of cultural institutions and other rights, the declaration says.

The situation in the human rights and freedoms of national minorities in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo-Metohija is a reflection of violent changes in the ethnic structure of the population. The changes, unprecedented in modern times, were made by the ethnic Albanian separatist movement which wants to creating ethnically pure Albanian territories in order to secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The history of Serbia and the history of Kosovo-Metohija are full of examples of ethnic cleansing of Serbs from the region. During the 1941-1944 fascist occupation, 10,000 Serbs were killed in the region and their historical and cultural documents destroyed.

After the war, around 150,000 Serbs and Montenegrins were expelled from Kosovo-Metohija without the right to return, and in the past 30 years, another 109,000 Serbs and 22,000 Montenegrins fled the province in the face of various forms of pressure.

At the same time, the number of ethnic Albanians has trebled to an estimated 1.6 million in Kosovo last year.

There are no precise figures about the number of ethnic Albanians in the province since they boycotted the latest census [passage indistinct] the former Yugoslavia in April 1991, under pressure from leaders of separatist movements.

The Serbian Parliament warned in its declaration that the dissolution of provincial organs of power (two years ago) and receivership introduced in many firms in the province prevents secession, destruction of capital and suspension of production in the economy.

Cases of abuse or inefficiency in the settlement of problems linked to civil and human rights are not an expression of Serbia's policy, but these are incidents which had been prevented and the perpetrators fined or prosecuted, the declaration says.

Representatives of the ethnic Albanian minority were offered talks which they refused invariably. Their refusals, just as aspirations for self-determination, show their true intentions.

The Serbian Parliament called on ethnic Albanians to take part in the work of democratic institutions and exercise their rights, including that to participate in the forthcoming general elections. Parliament also reminded ethnic Albanians that the territory of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo-Metohija is an integral and inseparable part of the Republic of Serbia.

The ethnic Albanian minority boycotted the republic elections two years ago and the elections for the federal parliament last May.

The common future of all in Kosovo is only possible on the principles embodied in CSCE and United Nations documents, of course, presuming the inhabitants' loyalty to the state they live and their respect of the state's integrity—says the declaration.

Commentary Accuses U.S. of Influencing Vote

*AU2711103192 Belgrade RTB Television Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 92*

[Text] For some time now the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has been exposed to pressure from the West. The UN Security Council's latest resolution gives this pressure a new dimension, a military dimension. Resolution 787, in fact, opens up great possibilities for NATO and the WEU, by a more serious military involvement in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, indirectly to affect the immediate neighbors of that republic, and thus the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Here is military-political commentator Milovan Drecun:

Security Council Resolution 787 in practice legalizes the realization of NATO's decision to support by military force the action of protecting the delivery of humanitarian aid in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the control of heavy weapons under the tutelage of the United Nations. Plans for this have already been made.

The NATO plan for supervising heavy weapons in Bosnia-Herzegovina envisages the following forces: the command of a division; three to four brigades, that is, eight mechanized battalions; appropriate units for air support; a battalion of engineers; a field hospital; and

background support. A total of 8,000-9,000 men and about 150 UN officer-monitors.

The operation would be carried out in four stages: first, the establishment of links between the warring sides, and reconnaissance and deployment of forces; second, the setting up of the main base in Split, the reconnaissance of routes, and the setting up of a reception base in Sarajevo; third, the organization, setting up, and functioning of the protection of the humanitarian aid convoys; fourth, the strengthening of the positions, deployment of fresh forces, and the realization of the tasks according to the orders of the UN Security Council or the CSCE.

Every convoy would be escorted by armored-reconnaissance units. One should say that France has already sent armored-reconnaissance units. In their secondary base in Sarajevo, NATO forces would be ready at all times to airlift by helicopter or transport by vehicle units needed to intervene if the convoys are obstructed. It is envisaged that NATO forces, which would bear UN markings, would protect tactical and strategic communications, not only for the needs of the military, but also for civilian purposes. As planned, the operation would be carried out in 25 days.

The plan to escort humanitarian aid convoys was drawn up on the basis of the same assumptions as the plan for the control of heavy weapons, provided both sides agree to stop fighting and observe the cease-fire. The realization of this plan envisages the following forces: the command of a division; two mechanized battalions; an armored-reconnaissance battalion; a battalion of engineers; a group for background protection; a transportation battalion; a logistics battalion; a field hospital; and an air squadron. A total of 6,000 men.

Every additional trip from Split or Sarajevo envisages forces of some 500 men, a battalion. The operation would be carried out in four stages, like the action to supervise heavy arms. NATO forces would extend support to the humanitarian aid convoys with the engineering and rear protection forces, and by maintaining communications.

The time for increasing the pressure on Yugoslavia was not chosen by accident. The frightening of the Yugoslav public and the threats of military intervention are undoubtedly intended to influence the voters to vote in the forthcoming elections in a way that suits the departing U.S. Administration.

Montenegro

Candidates For Presidential Elections Announced

LD2811175792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1502
GMT 28 Nov 92

[Text] Podgorica, November 28 (TANJUG)—Dragan Hajdukovic is currently the only candidate officially registered for the forthcoming presidential elections in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

Hajdukovic is a prominent scientist, university professor and the originator of the idea of Montenegro's becoming the world's first ecological state.

The Montenegrin ruling Democratic Party of Socialists has announced that its candidate in the elections will be the republic's current President Momir Bulatovic.

Leader of the opposition Liberal Alliance Slavko Perovic and leader of the opposition People's Party Novak Kilibarda will also be nominated, it has been learned from well-informed sources.

There are indications that former Yugoslavia's presidency vice-president Branko Kostic would also stand as a candidate in the elections. He will be nominated by the Association of War Veterans 1991-1992 after being defeated by Bulatovic as the opposing candidate in the ruling party.

Another two opposition parties, the Serbian People's Renewal and the Democratic Party, have also announced that they will put up their candidates.

The deadline for the registration of candidates for the presidential elections is November 29.

Authorities Criticized for Disarming Serb Officer

AU2911213392 Podgorica TVCG Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] A statement of the Serbian National Renewal for Montenegro and Hercegovina says:

According to the reports that we received from the the Serbian National Renewal party committee for Nevesinje and Gacko on 28 November, the true blue Montenegrin police dared to disarm and mistreat Mr. Gusic, a colonel of the Serbian Army who is one of the heroes of the Hercegovina battlefield, near Vracenovici on the state border between the sovereign Montenegro and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina].

It is, thus, not enough for the Montenegrin rulers to hunt and detain the patriots in northern Montenegro as paramilitary formations when they are actually preventing them from carrying out their patriotic duty. It is not enough for the Montenegrin rulers to exclude glorious Montenegro from the history of the entire Serbian nation and watch the struggle for survival of the Hercegovina residents from a hill instead of doing what King Nikola did in Vucji Dol.

With their last move in Vracenovici, the Montenegrin rulers have demonstrated that, to court the EC and Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia], not only are they willing to take part in disarming Serbian officers but would also offer their troops to the united European troops that are getting ready to attack Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic.

Macedonia

Two Greek Reporters Expelled From Macedonia

AU2611211692 Paris AFP in English 2045 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Skopje, Nov 26 (AFP)—Two journalists from the Greek radio station Sky 4 were expelled from the ex-Yugoslav republic of Macedonia Wednesday [25 November], and banned from reentering the country for a year, police here said Thursday. Konstantinos Vahevaksi and Joannis Rojbatis were detained after being caught in "facilities of strategic importance to the republic's security," said a police statement.

"Everything was done in strict compliance with the law and the case is in no way linked to politics," said Risto Nikovski, an undersecretary at the Macedonian interior ministry. He said about 30 Greek journalists were currently working in Macedonia "without the slightest problem."

Relations between Skopje and Athens have been strained over Macedonia's request for international recognition. Athens is blocking European Community recognition of Skopje in a row over its use of the name Macedonia, which Greece says should refer only to its northern province of the same name.

Popovski Proposes Deployment of UN Troops

LD3011095992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0909 GMT 30 Nov 92

[Text] Skopje, November 30 (TANJUG)—Defense Minister of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Vlado Popovski said on Sunday [29 November] evening that, if necessary, the U.N. Protection Force on the territory of the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) could be deployed along Macedonia's northern and western borders—with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Albania, respectively—in roughly two and a half months.

Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov requested during a recent visit to the United States that U.N. troops be deployed along Macedonian borders because he said there was a danger of the war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina spreading to Macedonia.

Popovski, speaking on Macedonian television, said that Macedonia's northern border posed a particular risk because of the possible spreading of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina to Kosovo and Metohija, the southern province in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

The western borders is not a risk as it is but will become one if a war breaks out in Kosovo and Metohija, because western Macedonia would in such an event become an important area across which Albania's troops would move towards Yugoslavia's southern border, Popovski said.

The leaders of ethnic-Albanian parties in Macedonia and Kosovo and Metohija and officials in Tirana call for the creation of a "greater Albania" which would comprise

Albania, Kosovo and Metohija and the part of Macedonia populated by ethnic Albanians.

Ethnic Albanians make up 21 percent of Macedonia's population.

Kosovo

Muslim Party To Boycott Upcoming Elections

LD2511183092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Nov 92

[Text] Pristina, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—The Muslims of Kosovo, members of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], will not take part in the coming federal and republic elections. A decision to this effect has been made by the executive committee of the Kosovo SDA.

In the view of the SDA executive committee, not even minimal conditions exist in the province for democratic elections because of "the virtual occupation of Kosovo by the police forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Serbia, who, since the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, have been subjecting the non-Serb population to daily terror," a statement issued today says.

The SDA describes as "logical" the decision by Kosovo Albanians not to take part in the elections.

In view of the specific nationality structure in Dragas [southwestern tip of Kosovo], members and followers of the Kosovo SDA have been given the option to take part in local elections. A decision on this will be made by the Kosovo SDA central committee.

Albanians Celebrate Independence Day Anniversary

AU2911160592 Tirana ATA in English 0956 GMT 29 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—Behlul Jashari writes from Pristina: On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of Albania's independence and flag day, the second Albanian state, the Republic of Kosovo, has no festive view. It has rather the view of occupation-built forces of Serb police and Army, pressure and provocations against the Albanian population, which, despite these very grave conditions, is celebrating the day of independence and flag. In the other cities and localities of Kosovo, because of the violation of human rights and freedoms, because of the arrests and persecutions by the Serb military regime, there are no flags in public places and occupied institutions. But the Albanian flag flutters in each Albanian home, even in the public places in villages, far from the eyes and attacks of the Serb police.

Many manifestations were held these days in Kosovo on the 80th anniversary of independence and flag day. A solemn meeting was held in Pristina. This day, beginning from 10:00, old and young stood by their radios and

televisions to follow the live broadcast by the Albanian Television and Radio Tirana of the great people's rally in Vlore's flag square.

Serb regime has also been hindering the transmission by the Albanian Radio-Television.

The 80th anniversary of independence and the flag day is also being celebrated in all the Albanian ethnic territories in former Yugoslavia, in Macedonia, Montenegro, and eastern Kosovo, in Presheve, Bujanovc, and Medvegje, and elsewhere where there are Albanians.

Today, for the first time in the day of independence and flag, after more than half a century, in the Albanian ethnic territories in Macedonia the Albanian national flag is also fluttering in public places. A solemn meeting of all the Albanian subjects in Macedonia was held in Tetove. In his speech of the occasion, Mr. Nevzat Halili, chairman of the Democratic Prosperity Party, said among other things that after the year 1945, today, following the agreement reached, for the first time the Albanian national flag is fluttering in its own day and fearless of the consequences also in Macedonia. Foreign holidays are marked until now, and this is the first time we mark the day of our national flag.

Rugova Addresses Albanians

AU2611164692 Tirana ATA in English 0928 GMT 26 Nov 92

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—Dr. Ibrahim Rugova addressed the Albanian people a message stressing that today after 80 years, the Balkans are being reorganized particularly after the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Kosovo declared its independence and together with other ethnic territories joins Albanian, Balkan, and European integration. Kosovo will be a free and democratic country for the Albanian people, the other peoples, and all nationals.

The Albanians as an ancient people have become a factor of stability in the Balkans. They are a significant factor in Europe and are respected by all.

Dr. Rugova also hosted a reception for mass media and correspondents from Kosovo. They talked about the 80th anniversary of the independence, this memorable event of the Albanian nation.

Capability, Threat of Albanian Armed Force

93BA0216A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 92 p 4

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Tracking the News: Albanian Armed Forces—Modest Armed Forces of Land of the Eagles"]

[Text] *Is there a concentration of military potential on the Yugoslav-Albanian border; dual interpretation of events in Macedonia; foreign instructors in Albania; one crane for Albanian boats.*

More than 600 years after the Battle of Kosovo, is there once again the threat of a decisive battle for the survival of the Serbian nation in that region? The answer is not simple, even though the events that are simply competing with time are increasingly drawing attention toward that part of Serbia and Yugoslavia. There are various types of speculation. A psychological-propaganda war by way of the world media regarding Kosovo in particular is in full swing. Reports by some British newspapers about an alleged "concentration of the Albanian armed forces along the border with Yugoslavia," but also the discovery of underground tunnels through which illegal persons can crawl up to our border—all this comes across as an echo of preparations for possible attempted incidents, similar to those that have already taken place in Skopje.

Events in Macedonia are actually attracting the attention of analysts for two reasons: Was the revolt in Skopje was in fact an overture and general test for something more widespread, which could automatically bring about a full internationalization of the Albanian question throughout the entire territory of the Balkans, or was this actually an internal Macedonian-Albanian locking of horns? In any case, the events in Skopje could to a certain extent divert attention from Kosovo and involve the potential of both Bulgaria and Albania, which naturally need not be long-term, but which nevertheless provides critical strategic relief for Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Missiles Near Shkoder

The fact that Italian and Turkish instructors have been training Albanian soldiers for some time now is not news, nor is it a secret. A year ago, an agreement on military cooperation was even signed between Turkey and Albania. Italy has a military presence in Albania in various regards—from allegedly humanitarian aid and the helicopters distributing this aid, to instructors, policemen, and even batteries of missiles in the vicinity of Shkoder, which were positioned there because of the airfield in Podgorica.

Italian warships are docking at Albanian harbors more and more often, and U.S. and NATO generals are increasingly discovering the charms of the "land of eagles," not only in the tourist sense. The country that only yesterday, so to speak, was caught up in feudalism is being offered arms and military commando training as first aid on the road to progress. It is hard to determine accurately whether the main element of this training is a program of crawling like rats through secret tunnels and channels toward the Yugoslav border, but the history of warfare has yet to record a battle in a tunnel.

Still, is there then some sort of Albanian "military threat" to Yugoslavia? The shortest answer is that right now, and even in the long term, Tirana lacks the potential for war against Serbia or Yugoslavia in terms of both material and personnel. A different question is the possibility of a minor, armed border incident, provocations with shooting or arms assistance to Albanians in

Kosovo and demonstrative movements by troops along the border with Yugoslavia. That is possible, and herein lies the danger of a spread of incidents and clashes. But it is certain that those countries that would rush into a Balkan adventure after an incident due to Kosovo already have clearly mapped-out interests in this region, and a conflict would only be a pretext for them. The ease and nonchalance of the report and statement by Lord Owen on Kosovo in particular and on the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia clearly confirm this.

"Whiskey" Submarines

The Albanian armed forces, as a sort of rear line for a possible Albanian revolt in Kosovo, currently number around 48,000 men (22,400 recruits completing their military service). Reserves comprise another 155,000 men up to the age of 56 (150,000 ground forces and 5,000 seamen and airmen). The ground forces are organizationally categorized as one armored and one infantry brigade, three artillery regiments, one engineer regiment, and six coast artillery battalions, which together amount to 35,000 soldiers and officers (around 20,000 recruits).

With regard to heavy weaponry, the Albanians have around 190 T-34 and T-54 tanks, 13 BRDM-1 armored vehicles, and 120 BTR-40/-50/-152 and Chinese CH-531 armored personnel carriers. The artillery has at its disposal Soviet- and Chinese-made 122-, 130-, and 152-mm guns, 82-, 120-, and 160-mm multiple-barrel mortars, 45-, 57-, and 85-mm antitank guns, and 23-, 37-, 57-, and 85-mm antiair guns.

There are 2,000 people in our southern neighbor's navy, including 1,000 recruits, with 400 in coast guard units. The main bases are at Durres, Vlore, Pasha Livan, and island of Sazan. The fleet comprises two ancient Soviet "Whiskey"-class submarines stolen and captured from the Soviets, 29 Chinese "Huchuan"-type torpedo hydrofoils, two Soviet "Kronstadt"-class patrol ships, six Chinese "Sangaj"-type patrol boats, one Soviet T-301 mine-sweeper, and several auxiliary boats. The main force of the Albanian navy, the "Hucvan" torpedo hydrofoils, must have their underwater components inspected after every 12 hours of sailing, and Albania has only one crane that can lift them from the water.

The Albanian air force comprises 11,000 people (1,400 recruits) and 95 combat planes distributed among five military airfields. The most modern machines, the J-7 (the Chinese version of the Soviet MiG-21 fighter plane), of which there are 20, are located at the Shijak air force base near Tirana, while the J-6 machines (the Chinese version of the Soviet MiG-19) are positioned at the Kucove base. That base has two squadrons of J-6 planes, a total of 30 machines. The Shijak and Kucove bases are the backbone of Albania's air defense system.

The fighter-bomber force comprises three squadrons of J-2 (the Chinese MiG-15) and J-4 (the Chinese MiG-17) planes. There are 10 of the former and 35 of the latter.

For training purposes, the Albanians have another 10 Soviet MiG-15 UTI's [expansion unknown], six Jakova-11's, and eight Chinese CJ-5's. The air defense system also includes CA-2 ground-to-air missiles and four bases with 22 missile launchers.

Besides border units of 7,000 people and internal police who number 5,000, this would be the total military potential of Albania. Admittedly, all of these could not squeeze through underground tunnels and channels, but they are out there somewhere....

Vojvodina

Hungarian Party Chairman on Minority Problems

AU2411141992 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in
Hungarian 20 Nov 92 p 9

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Karoly Keszeg in Ujvidek; date not given: "Andras Agoston on the Role of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians"]

[Text] [Keszeg] An increasing number of people think that changes should be made in the structure of the largest organization that represents the Hungarians in Vojvodina, namely the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK], to the benefit of the Hungarians living in Vojvodina. Does the VMDK leadership also agree with this? Should the VMDK become a party, or should it remain an organization that represents certain interests?

[Agoston] The debate on the possibilities of a coalition showed that an overwhelming majority of delegates does not want the VMDK to become a party. If we join any political bloc, our organization will lose its specific character of interest representation, and it will become a party, and this is not our goal. Therefore, we will run on an independent list in the elections scheduled for 20 December. We cannot wait for the united stand of the opposition.

[Keszeg] In other words, the VMDK will not cooperate with the Serbian opposition.

[Agoston] As I said, we cannot wait to see what decisions are made by others. However, the fact that we do not participate in the election coalition is not a problem, because this is not necessary. The important thing is to have a democratic coalition after the elections. We have always supported the opposition, regardless of the fact that the opposition did not support our autonomy concept.

[Keszeg] You held talks with Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic recently. Has anything changed in the national minority policy of rump Yugoslavia, something that could give some hope for the future?

[Agoston] No special results emerged from these talks, except that we learned each other's opinions. It is true that we have already been aware of Panic's opinion, and we know that he is not in favor of autonomy, because he

does not regard this as something important. In any case, I told him that, if they want to settle the situation of national minorities in a democratic way, they will have to talk about autonomy. The VMDK concept on this matter has already come into the focus of international interest. Russian President Boris Yeltsin also learned about it while on an official visit in Hungary, and he found it interesting. The Russian-language translation of this concept is ready, and we hope that at least its major elements will be welcome in the territory of the former Soviet Union, including Russia.

[Keszeg] A civil war in Serbia represents a real danger. It is well known that, in such a case, the VMDK would call upon the Hungarians in Vojvodina to escape. With this, has your community given up its original principles of remaining and prospering here?

[Agoston] Naturally, we have not given up our endeavor to have Hungarian autonomy guarantee our survival and prosperity here and preserving our identity in the future. At the same time, in the current situation, we will face a demand to find a solution to halt the atrocities. The Hungarians in Vojvodina are a group of European people, and they are not armed. However, qualitatively, there would be no difference between atrocities committed against the Vojvodina Hungarians and a possible attack against Hungary. The international public opinion probably feels the same way.

New Wave of 'Forced Mobilization' in Vojvodina

93BA0226B Novi Sad MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 29 Oct 92 p 7

[Unattributed article: "Protesting Mobilization; A Bulletin by the Ada Organization of the Antiwar Action Center"]

[Text] The Ada district organization of the Belgrade-based Antiwar Action Center has issued a bulletin relative to the most recent wave of forced mobilization in Vojvodina. The center objects to the increasing scope and increasingly forceful mobilization in the province, and has, in part, this to say:

"In most instances, people subject to mobilization are arrested either in their homes or at their workplaces. Thereafter they are taken either to the police or to the nearest barracks. The persons drafted are either persuaded to join their units, or are forced to do so. Such mobilization has taken place in Csoka [Coka], Szanad [Sanad], Jazova, Zenta [Senta], Szabadka [Subotica], and in Zrenjanin and its vicinity. In addition to the fact that such action violates the law, a suspected intent to accomplish a certain degree of ethnic cleansing also prevails."

The center has informed the Federal Justice Ministry, the Ministry of Human Rights and Minority Affairs, the CSCE, as well as the appropriate committee of Amnesty International.

The Way the People of Moravica See It

The Moravica Branch council of the VMDK [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Vojvodina] has discussed the forced military mobilization that took place in the municipalities of Csonka and Zenta, has found that it was an inhuman act and that it took place against the will of reservists, and has registered its protest by issuing a statement that, in part, reads as follows:

"On 8 April 1992, at a grand rally held by the people of Moravica and its vicinity, we condemned the method of forced 'drafting and recruitment' being used. We condemned forced mobilization ordered by those in power, and implemented by the authorities.

"We determined that by capturing persons of military age like criminals at their family homes and workplaces, the authorities have exceeded their authority and jurisdiction.

"By accepting and signing a military summons, a person of military age verifies only his awareness of the call for duty. Under no circumstance, and pursuant to no procedures, could such receipt be construed as an authorization for the police and the military authority to drag draftees to the barracks against their will. We stressed that those in power and the authorities must respect primarily the draftees' human dignity and their decisions and actions based on their human conscience."